Changing Language Loyalty and Identity:

An Ethnographic Inquiry of Societal Transformation among the Javanese People in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

by

Lusia Marliana Nurani

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved August 2015 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Teresa L. McCarty, Co-Chair
Mary Eunice Romero-Little, Co-Chair
Aya Matsuda

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2015

ABSTRACT

This study examines changing language loyalties of the sociopolitically most dominant ethnic group in Indonesia, the Javanese. Although Javanese language has the largest number of speakers, within the last five decades the language is gradually losing its speakers who prioritize the national language, Indonesian. This phenomenon led me to inquire into the extent to which their native language matters for their Javanese identity and how the language planning and policy (LPP) mechanism works to foster Javanese language. To collect data, I conducted a six-month ethnographic research project in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The findings show that Javanese language shift occurs because of strong supports from the government toward Indonesian by emphasizing its role as a symbol to unify all ethnic groups in Indonesia into one nation. Consequently, interference in intergenerational language transmission, a limited scope of Javanese use, decrease language competence, and negative attitude toward Javanese are evident. Although Javanese language is still perceived as the most profound marker of Javanese identity, it is now challenging to maintain it because of its limited role in most domains. The study also indicates that the Javanese people are now strongly inclined to Islam reflected by their piety to Islamic rules such as positive attitude to learn liturgic Arabic, to leave behind Javanese tradition not in line with Islam, and to view religion as a panacea to heal social problems. This high regard for Islam is also evident in schools. Furthermore, the Javanese people value highly English although nobody uses it as a medium of daily communication. However, the fact that English is tested in the secondary education national exams and the university entrance exam makes it necessary

for people to learn it. In addition, English is regarded as a modern, intellectual, and elite language. In short, the Javanese people perceive English as an avenue to achieve academic and professional success as well as higher social status. Altogether, this study shows that shifting language loyalty among the Javanese people is an indication of societal transformation.

DEDICATION

For my father, Jono Lesmana, whose life experience has been my primary inspiration for this dissertation project

For my mother, Sri Haryati, whose endless encouragement has helped me to finish my study

For both my father and my mother who have taught me to persevere and to work hard for the dreams I aspire to achieve

For my sisters, Laila Aryani and Amelia Destari, and for my brother, Anton Kristiawan, who have been my constant sources of support

I am thankful to have you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is often said that there is light at the end of the tunnel but frankly the path I took has always been so full of light that I did not need to wait until the end of the tunnel to see it because people who had accompanied me to reach the finish line had tremendously illuminated this so-called dark tunnel. They are indeed the true light to whom I will always forever feel indebted. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to them for their unconditional supports in the pursuit of my education.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all my participants who had let me enter their life for half a year. Their trust in me to unravel their life story and their patience with my in-depth endless questions did touch my heart. They are the heart and soul of this dissertation. Indeed, this study would not have been possible without their immense help.

I would also like to sincerely thank my committee, Dr. Teresa McCarty, Dr. Mary Eunice Romero-Little, and Dr. Aya Masuda, whose expertise and guidance have influenced my research and enabled me to craft and finish my dissertation.

Dr. McCarty, I whole-heartedly thank you for introducing me to ethnography. Throughout my PhD journey, I have learned immesureable knowledge about ethnography from you. I am also honored that you have mentored me to the academia world through research mentoring and conference presentations. Words failed to express how greatly I am indebted to you.

Dr. Romero-Little, I am grateful that I took your class, Language/Literacy-Indigenous People. From the academically stimulating discussion in that class, I became

more decisive to focus on the Indigenous language maintenance. Your background as an Indigenous scholar and your expertise in Indigenous language maintenance has solidified my research trajectory.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the following professors for their contribution to the completion of my study. My deepest gratitude to Dr. Karen Adams for her significant support throughout my study. My heartfelt thanks to Professor John Ulrich Wolff (Cornell University) and Professor Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (Universitas Gadjah Mada) who shared their expertise in Javanese language and society by giving me insightful feedbacks on dissertation. My special thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Swadener who let me join her dissertation writing support group where I had a chance to meet with inspiring PhD students from different field of studies.

To all my friends in PhD Applied Linguistics Program-English Department, Dissertation Writing Support Group, and Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College with whom I shared my ups and downs during this academic adventure, I felt so grateful to cross path with them. I have also been blessed with supports from the Indonesian Fulbright students and the Indonesian community in Arizona from the first day I arrived to this day.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family in Indonesia (my parents, my sisters, and my brother) who always had faith in me even when I was in doubt. I am thankful for your countless encouragement and unconditional love. I cannot thank you enough!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDIX Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

A culture without the Native language is like an eagle without wings. Just as the eagle is identified by its wings – it has the largest wingspan and can fly the highest, and without its wings it would be just another bird – so, in the same sense, I look at Native American languages. If we didn't have our language, a part of us would be cut off and we would be incomplete. We would just be people. If we have our Native language, we are unique and it identifies us, and we are spiritually whole. We have the complete circle. — Roseanna Thompson, Director, Mississippi Choctaw Language Program (Interview, June 2000, cited in McCarty, 2013, p. xvii)

I had never found an expression that could exactly describe the relationship between language and identity until I came across with the eagle analogy coined by Choctaw language educator, Roseanna Thompson, above. While processing this statement in my mind, I found myself reminiscing about my own experience with the notion of language and identity. I was born and raised in a family where my parents did not come from the same ethnic group. My mother belongs to an ethnic group known as the Javanese who are mainly concentrated in the central and eastern part of Java Island; while my father is a member of an ethnic group known as the Sundanese who typically live in West Java. Interestingly, I have always identified myself as a Javanese, the ethnic group of my mother. My inclination toward the Javanese identity may be due to the fact that I grew up in Yogyakarta, a place that is considered the center of Javanese culture (Errington, 1991; Smith-Hefner, 2009). In fact, Javanese is my first language, the language that I have been familiar with since I was a child. This is the language that I use

whenever I speak with my mother, relatives, and friends. Thus, I subconsciously feel more comfortable to claim that I am a Javanese because I speak the language.

My father neither uses his native language, Sundanese, whenever he converses with me and my siblings nor teaches us the language even until today. Instead, he chooses the Indonesian language or *Bahasa Indonesia* (*Bahasa* means 'language'), the official and national language of my country, Indonesia, as the medium of communication at home because he is not proficient to speak Javanese although his receptive skills are fine. Because of the exposure of Indonesian, I developed passive skills in this language even though I did not have any active skills in it when I was a child. Thus, during my pre-school period, I always used Javanese when I talked to my father while he responded in Indonesian.

When I started to go to elementary school, I learned and acquired Indonesian rapidly. My proficiency in Indonesian was also intensified at home where my father, apart from his choice to communicate with me in Indonesian, regularly brought home story books and children magazines in this language. The exposure of literacy and communication in Indonesian cultivated by the school and my father had changed my linguistic repertoire. Whenever my father and I conversed, both of us always used Indonesian and this continues to this day. I am still linguistically limited in the Sundanese language.

Do I decide not to identify myself with the Sundanese ethnic group only because I do not speak the language of my father? My answer is 'yes' because language means more than a string of words. "Language goes much deeper than skin color, or ethnic origin. Skin color is superficial. Language is not. Language calls for a different set of

cultural references, a different school system, another literature" (Shaw, 2001, p. 44). Thus, by not speaking the Sundanese language, I feel that I never reason, think, and act in a Sundanese way. How can I claim myself as a Sundanese without immersing myself in its world?

I realize an important fact about Javanese language that makes me contemplate about whether the construction of my Javanese identity is merely influenced by the sense of belonging of the language, 'language' in its broader meaning as stated by Shaw above, or whether other factors are significantly involved. The fact that the Javanese is the largest ethnic group in Indonesia and sociopolitically the most dominant may be a strong factor which leads me to proclaim to be a Javanese not a Sundanese. I used to simply assume that my proficiency in Javanese language and my acceptance of its culture were the only factors that influenced me to be a Javanese. But then, thinking thoroughly about it now makes me realize that the centrifugal force or the force to blend in to the majority group (Bakhtin, 1981; González, 2001) has somehow encouraged me (even though I was not aware of it) to identify myself with the majority group by speaking, thinking, and living Javanese. In the end, I question myself, "if the Sundanese is the majority group whereas the Javanese is the minority one, will I choose to be a Sundanese?"

Looking back at my father's attitude toward the maintenance of Sundanese language in the home domain, I believe that to some extent it has played a significant role in the construction of my Javanese identity. Not only did he decide a home language policy which alienated his children from his native language, he is also more inclined to follow Javanese instead of Sundanese traditions, especially in celebrating important events in life. For example, the wedding of my sister and my brother were conducted in

accordance with the Javanese tradition. I can see that his eagerness to be more in favor of the Javanese than the Sundanese culture is a strategy to successfully permeate and to immerse himself along with his family into the majority group's culture. In other words, the centrifugal force has driven him to assimilate to the majority group by emphasizing the Javanese identity for the family.

The centrifugal force or the desire to assimilate is interestingly accompanied by the centripetal force which has led my father to show his differences. Even though he has lived in Yogyakarta for 40 years and in this time his proficiency in Javanese language is more than satisfactory, he still refuses to shift to Javanese language. Rather, he chooses Indonesian as a means of daily communication at home, at work, in all domains. It is worth noting that he also cannot drop his Sundanese accent whenever he tries to code switch in Javanese language. Because of his accent, people can notice right away that he is not a Javanese. The attitude that my father displays, according to González (2001) is commonly found among the minority group. When they are positioned as outsiders, they will emphasize their differences to highlight their existence. It is also not unusual that they at the same time want to assimilate to the majority group. Indeed, languages allow anyone to create their linguistic behaviors in order to be like those of the group with which they want to be associated or to not resemble the group with which they want to be disidentified (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Liu's opinion (1998) below about his father clearly represents the centripetal and centrifugal forces that are also experienced by my father: "He did not want to be a square peg in a round hole. But he realized at a certain point that, like a chopstick, he had both a square end and a round end; that he could find ways to fit in without whittling down his integrity" (p. 21).

Another factor leading me to pursue the language and identity topic is the fact that the Javanese people have been gradually shifting away from their native language. It has been reported by some studies that the number of Javanese speakers has decreased significantly and that they have shifted to Indonesian as the daily means of communication (Drake, 1989; Errington, 1985, 1998; Kurniasih, 2003; Setiawan, 2013; Smith-Hefner, 1988, 2009; Zentz, 2012). Drake (1989) reported that only 40.5% of the total population of Javanese speak their native language even though the number of Javanese people in Indonesia is roughly around 50% of the national population. Although the number of its speakers is decreasing, Javanese language is still the most-spoken local language in Indonesia with about 84.3 million speakers (Lewis, Paul, & Fennig, 2015). Because the number of its speakers is still high, Javanese language is not a dying language, yet it is potentially endangered (see the discussion in Chapter 7). However, the fact that the Javanese people are numerically the biggest and sociopolitically the strongest ethnic group interestingly does not seem to correlate with their pride to hold on to their native language. I am hence curious about whether or not those who shifted away from Javanese language are a real "eagle," a real Javanese.

Going back to Thompson's statement in the epigraph above, I strongly agree with her that the role of language in the construction of identity is unquestionable; however I believe that language is not the only element that defines the identity. My personal experience has shown that the construction of my identity involves several factors. Thus, what factors must a person have to be considered a "real eagle"? What is a "real eagle"? I was so curious to explore the issue of the authenticity of the Javanese identity that I conducted a six-month ethnographic inquiry in Java island, specifically in my

hometown,Yogyakarta, for my dissertation project to investigate the meaning of being a true Javanese and the importance of Javanese language for their identity. Ethnography is deemed suitable for this study because it allows me to observe in details what people do, to carry out an in-depth investigation, to listen to their words in order to make accurate inferences, and most importantly to unravel the complexity of identity. Through this ethongraphic inquiry, I also look for the answers on why Javanese language shift occurs and what factors cause this phenomenon.

Objectives of the Study

On the basis of my question about the role of language for a person's identity which I elaborated above, my first purpose to conduct this ethnographic study is to examine the relationship between the phenomenon of changing language loyalty and the Javanese identity among the Javanese people specifically in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. A discussion on language shift definitely cannot be separated with language planning and policy (henceforth, LPP) since the creation and implementation of LPP will affect the existence of a language. Therefore, the second objective of this study is to analyze the national LPP and its impacts toward the maintenance of Javanese language and toward language ideology of the Javanese speakers. Finally, this study aims at investigating the relationship, if any, between Javanese language shift and larger transformations in contemporary Javanese society on the ground that language shift is not purely a linguistic phenomenon but it is caused and influenced by a variety of factors (Himmelman, 2010).

Research Questions

To successfully achieve the study's objectives above, this dissertation addresses the following questions:

1. How do the Javanese people perceive what it means to be a Javanese? In what ways, if at all, does the Javanese language play a role in the construction and affirmation of the Javanese identity?

2. How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the language ideology of Javanese speakers?

3. How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the maintenance of Javanese language?

4. What is the relationship, if any, between Javanese language shift and larger transformations in contemporary Javanese society?

To become familiarized with the Javanese ethnic group and its native language, in the following sections of this introductory chapter, I will elaborate below the Javanese society and its sociopolitical position in Indonesia. Then, I will incorporate the discussion on Javanese language shift phenomenon including language attitude among the Javanese speakers.

Setting the Scene

To become familiar with the sociolinguistic, sociohistorical, and sociopolitical context of this study, I will begin this section with a historical overview of the establishment of Indonesia. This section will also incorporate a brief discussion on the composition of Indonesian society at large and the linguistic facts of the country. Then, I will narrow down the discussion with the emphasis on Javanese language and society. Finally, I will end it with an elaboration on the phenomenon of language shift among the Javanese speakers. I will thoroughly discuss the sociolinguistic, sociohistorical, and

sociopolitical of Indonesia in Chapter 7. Thus, the overview of Indonesia in this chapter is primarily intended to provide introductory context for the next chapters.

Historically, Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch for about three and a half centuries1, but before the Dutch colonization, each ethnic group was spread in various independent small kingdoms. After the Dutch established their colonial power in the archipelago in 1602, these small kingdoms became politically insignificant and its authority was taken over by the colonial government. During the colonization, Indonesia was known as the Dutch East Indies. This long period of colonization makes the Dutch's influence in the education system, government, law, language, and culture unavoidable. In 1942 during the World War II, the Japanese came and took over the Dutch and ruled Indonesia for about three and a half years. On 17 August 1945 Indonesia finally became an independent nation after the surrender of Japan in World War II.

Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago composed of over 17,000 islands scattered in both sides of the equator line and kept apart by 36,000 square miles of inland seas, only 6000 of which are inhabited (Fearnside 1997; Nababan, 1991). Indonesia stretches 3,180 miles from east to west and 1,100 miles north to south (Nabababan, 1991). The major islands of this archipelago are Sumatera, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Bali, Sulawesi (Celebes), and Papua while the rests are small-sized islands. With this geographical landscape, it is not surprising that Indonesia is positioned as the world's 16th largest country in terms of land area. With regard to the population, Indonesia is the

1 Indonesia had also been colonized by the Spanish and the Portuguese but their colonization did not last as long as that of the Dutch. Furthermore, their colonizations did not have any influence on the history of language policy in Indonesia. Therefore, the colonization from these countries was not discussed in this dissertation.

world's fourth most populous country in the world after China, India, and the United States. Its total number of population is approximately 238 million based on the 2010 census conducted by *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS)/Statistics Indonesia. The 2010 census also recorded that the population is made up of 65.4 percent workforce (those who are in 15 through 64 years of age), consisting of 76,743,613 males and 76, 845, 245 females.

Indonesia is ethnically and religiously diversed. There are about 300 ethnic groups with the following composition: Javanese 40.6%, Sundanese 15%, Madurese 3.3%, Minangkabau 2.7%, Betawi 2,4%, Bugis 2.4%, Banten 2%, Banjar 1.7%, and the rest are other ethnic groups (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2013). With regard to religions, there are six major religions formally recognized in Indonesia, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. In addition to that, traditional faiths also exist and are recognized by the government as well. According to CIA (2014), the majority of Indonesian are Muslims making up 87.2 per cent of the total population. In fact, Indonesia is known as the home of the largest Muslim population in the world. Christian and Roman Catholic make up 7 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively while the rest of the Indonesians are Hindu (1.7 per cent), Buddhist and Confucian (0.9 per cent), and unspecified (0.4 per cent).

With respect to linguistic diversity, Indonesia is linguistically rich. In Indonesia there are 719 languages; "of these, 704 are living and 13 are extinct. Of the living languages, 21 are institutional, 97 are developing, 248 are vigorous, 265 are in trouble, and 75 are dying" (Lewis et al., 2015). Because of this linguistic richness, ten per cent of the world languages today can be found in Indonesia making Indonesia the second most linguistically diverse country in the world after Papua New Guinea (Evans, 2009).

Moreover, as a consequence of this linguistic diversity (it is worth noting that most of these languages are not mutually intelligible), Indonesian is used as the *lingua franca* so that the speakers of these local languages can communicate with each other. The position of Indonesian is so strong that it is formally declared as the official and national language of Indonesia in the Constitution of Indonesia 1945, specifically in the article 36.

Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia 1945

Pasal 36

Bahasa negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia.

The Constitution of Indonesia 1945

Article 36

The language of the country is *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language)

The position of Indonesian as the official and national language is further strengthened by the Ministerial Decree no. 24/2009 (see Appendix B) which stipulates rules and strategies to foster Indonesian as the primary language in Indonesia and an international language.

To effectively promote Indonesian as stated in the Constitution of Indonesia 1945 and the decree 24/2009, the Indonesian government through *Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa* or The National Language Board for Language Development and Cultivation (formerly known as *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*/The National Center for Language Development and Cultivation) established a program known as *Bahasa Indonesia bagi Penutur Asing* (BIPA) or Indonesian for Foreign Language Speakers. To this day, there are 104 BIPA institutions nationwide and 130 BIPA institutions worldwide which can be found in 36 foreign countries in Asian, European, Australian, and American continents (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan

Bahasa [BPPB], 2014). In the United States alone there are 13 higher education institutions offering BIPA (Kurniawan, 2013). In 2009, the local government of Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam declared Indonesian as the second official foreign language in this city (Latief, 2013). In addition to that, Indonesian is one of the offical languages for Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Inter-Parliamentary Assembly meeting (Fauzi, 2011).

With strong supports from the government, Indonesian has become the most important language in Indonesia and is ranked in the ninth position as one of the most spoken languages in the world (Lewis et al., 2015). On the basis of the 2010 census, Setiawan (2013) estimates that the number of its speakers is relatively the same figure as the total number of the Indonesian population, approximately 238 millions, by considering that Indonesian is now the primary means of communication for everyone. As a *lingua franca*, Indonesian has succesfully enabled people from various ethnic groups to communicate with each other. Despite its important role to unify hundreds of ethnic groups, Indonesian has been accused of being the number one killer language because the speakers of local languages opt to shift away from their native language and choose Indonesian as their primary language in all domains. Indeed, Indonesian language policy has created an environment which discourages the local languages to thrive within the national domain; as a result, the policy has hampered the nation's linguistic ecology (Zentz, 2012). In this dissertation, I use the term local language to refer to the native languages spoken by the ethnic groups in Indonesia.

To maintain the linguistic diversity, Indonesian government makes effors to foster the linguistic vitality of its local languages as expressed in the Ministerial Decree No.

24/2009. Nevertheless, the intention to cultivate these languages is outpowered by the strong policies to use Indonesian in all domains. For instance, in the Ministerial Decree 24/2009, the article 42 is the only article in the decree dedicated to promote local languages. As a result, nationwide language shift to Indonesian cannot be avoided. The discussion on this issue and the national LPP will be further elaborated in chapter 7.

Pasal 42

(1) Pemerintah daerah wajib mengembangkan, membina, dan melindungi bahasa dan sastra daerah agar tetap memenuhi kedudukan dan fungsinya dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat sesuai dengan perkembangan zaman dan agar tetap menjadi bagian dari kekayaan budaya Indonesia.

(2) Pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan secara bertahap, sistematis, dan berkelanjutan oleh pemerintah daerah di bawah koordinasi lembaga kebahasaan.

(3) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah.

Article 42

(1) Local governments shall develop, enhance, and protect local languages and literatures so that they may continue to fulfill their social positions and functions in community life according to the development of the era and in order to maintain its place within Indonesia's cultural richness.

(2) The development, enhancement, and protection as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be performed gradually, systematically, and sustainably by local governments under the coordination of language institutions.

(3) More precise provisions for the development, enhancement, and protection referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

Javanese Language and Society

Besides being known as the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, the Javanese is also politically, culturally, and socially dominant even during the period of Dutch colonization. For example, the current president and all the former presidents of Indonesia, except one president, are Javanese. Because of their domination, Javanese world view is very influential and strongly shapes Indonesia's national landscape (Errington, 1985)

> […] some quintessentially Javanese cultural themes—conceptions of power, interpersonal authority relations, the nature of symbolic legitimization of authority, and much else---have powerfully influenced the development of national and "modern" institutions, and are germane to the patterns of social interaction among Javanese and non-Javanese citizens of Indonesia alike." (Errington, 1985, p. 1)

The domination of the Javanese ethnic group is also caused by the transmigration project aiming to relocate the population in Java Island, which is densely inhabited and is the concentration of the Javanese ethnic group, to other less populous islands. This project had been initiated by the Dutch during the colonization and continued until now by the Indonesian government (Fearnside, 1997). As a result of the transmigration, the Javanese

ethnic group, carrying along with them their symbols of identity, has spread throughout the archipelago and created the so-called Javanese diaspora (Elmhirst, 2000). Many accuse that transmigration was an avenue to Javanize Indonesia because the influx of Javanese migrants contributed to the shift of local cultural practices in other islands (Elmhirst, 2000).

With regard to the composition of the Javanese society, it is widely known that the Javanese ethnic group lives in a rigidly hierarchical society (Errington, 1985, 1998; Geertz, 1960; Siegel, 1986; Smith-Hefner, 1988). Geertz (1960) divides the hierarchy of the Javanese society into three categories, namely *Abangan, Santri*, and *Priyayi*. *Abangan* are the population of Javanese Muslims who practice a syncretic version of Islam and more inclined to follow a traditional local system of beliefs than Islamic law (*sharia*), while *Santri* are the population of Javanese Muslims who practice a more pure version of Islam. *Priyayi* refer to the Javanese elites comprising not only the aristocrat family but also the commoners who do *alus* or refined work such as the bureaucrats (Geertz, 1960).

While Geertz's classification has been widely acknowledged, according to Koentjaraningrat (1963), this classification is somewhat misleading. Koentjaraningrat accuses Geertz of misunderstanding the two religious traditions (syncretist *Abangan* versus Muslim *Santri*) by incorporating *Priyayi* as a comparable category. In fact, *Priyayi* is simply Javanese upper class and has nothing to do with religious traditions. Encyclopaedia Britannica (n.d.) supported Koentjaraningrat's claim by providing a definition of *Priyayi* as a class that is composed of the elite and is in contrast to the masses or *wong cilik* (literally means "little people," figuratively means commoners/grassroots). These definitions were supported by Errington (1985) who

defined *Priyayi* as someone who is the descent of the royalty and/or has close relationship with the royalty through their profession. Because of this, they occupy the upper class position and are perceived to be "the ideals of Javanese culturedness" (Errington, 1985. p. 2).

> Ideally speaking, a *Priyayi* was a well-born Javanese holding high government office, thoroughly versed in the aristocratic culture of the courts. He should be familiar with classical literature, music and dance, the *wayang kulit* (puppet shadow play), and with the subtleties of philosophy, ethics and mysticism. He should have mastered the nuances of polite behavior, language and dress. (Sutherland, 1975, p. 58)

In short, *Priyayi* is a matter of social class which is not comparable with *Abangan* and *Santri*.

Moving on to the native language of the Javanese ethnic group, Javanese language is claimed to be the most-spoken ethnic language in Indonesia (Lewis et al., 2015). It is spoken along the northwest coast, central, and eastern areas of Java (see appendix C). Moreover, as a consequence of the transmigration project, Javanese speakers have dispersed in other islands such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and West Papua which altogether account for about 8 millions (Nothofer, 2009). During the Dutch colonization, the Javanese people was not only relocated within but also beyond the Indonesian archipelago. They can also be found in the former Dutch colonized countries, for example Suriname (60,000 speakers) and in New Caledonia (6,700 speakers) (Nothofer, 2009). Moreover, many Javanese in the last three decades have migrated to the neighboring

countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam to be migrant workers, which has also created the Javanese diaspora.

Javanese is spoken primarily in the Central and East Java provinces. This language is divided into three major dialects, namely western, central, and eastern Javanese dialects (Setiawan, 2013). Setiawan (2013) indicates that the western Javanese dialects are spoken in the western part of Central Java province whereas the eastern dialects are spread in East Java province. The Central dialects, based on the variant of Javanese used in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, is spoken in the central part of Central Java province, the Special Territory of Yogyakarta province, and the border of East and Central Java. It is worth noting that the Javanese dialect spoken in Yogyakarta and Surakarta is considered the most refined Javanese and becomes the standard Javanese for all speakers (Errington, 1998). Because of its position as the standard, this Javanese dialect becomes the standard Javanese taught in schools in these three provinces. Despite being divided into several dialects, all of Javanese dialects more or less are mutually intelligible since the differences only lie on pronunciations and some of the vocabulary. However, some dialects in the western part of Central Java province such as *Banyumasan* (also known as *Ngapak-ngapak*), Cirebonan, and Dermayon are not mutually intelligible in their informal form while the formal form of these dialects are the same as other Javanese dialects.

The formal and informal forms of Javanese known as speech levels were developed by the Mataram dynasty, the ancestor of the modern Sultanate of Yogyakarta, to highlight the stratification in the Javanese society−the commoners and the royalty (Moedjanto, 1986). The purpose of creating linguistic gap on the basis of social class was

to maintain the position of the royalty as the ruler (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). These speech levels make Javanese strikingly distinct from Indonesian. When speaking in Indonesian, people only use one form of this language. Thus, the first speaker uses the same set of words of the same level as those used by the second speaker. However in Javanese, the first speaker may use the formal variant or High Javanese/ *Krama* (*Inggil* "high") or Middle Javanese (*Madya* "middle") and the second speaker may reply in informal form or Low Javanese (*Ngoko*) or vice versa. Another possibility is that both speakers use either Low Javanese or High Javanese. This complexity can be seen in its level classification which Poedjosoedarmo (1968) divides into nine forms.

Table 1

Javanese Spech Levels (Poedjoesoedarmo, 1968)

Base Level	Sub-level	Example: 'Please go!'
	Ngoko-lugu	Lungo-a.
Ngoko	Antya-basa	Mang lunga.
	Basa-antya	Sampeyan lunga.
	Madya-ngoko	Kesah-a.
Madya	Madyantara	Sampeyan kesah.
	Madya-krama	Tindak-a.
	Wredha-krama	Pendjenengan tindak.
Krama	Kramantara	Pendjenengan katuran tindak.
	Mudha-krama	Pendjenengan kula aturi tindak.

Tables 1 shows that Javanese speech levels are basically composed of three bases, *Ngoko*, (*Krama) Madya*, and *Krama Inggil* which each expresses Javanese politeness rules as follows (Moedjanto, 1986):

1. *Ngoko:* Informal speech, used between friends and close relatives, also used by persons of higher status to persons of lower status, such as elders to younger people or bosses to subordinates.
2. *Madya:* The intermediary form between *ngoko* and *krama*.
   Example: an interaction between strangers on the street, where one wants to be neither too formal nor too informal.
3. *Krama Inggil:* The polite and formal style, used between persons of the same status who do not wish to be informal, the official style for public speeches, also used by persons of lower status to persons of higher status, such as youngsters to elder people or subordinates to bosses.

Because I do not focus on the linguistic aspects of Javanese speech levels, such as morphological, lexical, or syntactical analysis to see how these aspects change in each level, I do not follow the nine classification but use two out of three base levels, *Ngoko* and *Krama* to distinguish low/informal and high/formal speeches respectively. With regard to *Madya*, I merge *Madya* with *Krama* since both have a similar function which is to express politeness and formality. The difference is that the degree of formality in *Krama* is higher than Madya. In addition to that, my participants and people whom I met in the location of my fieldwork generally answered *Ngoko* and *Krama* when I asked about the types of Javanese speech levels they knew. This means that people in general are more familiar with the dichotomy of speech level than the nine or two classifications. Moreover, the simplification of Javanese speech levels into two classes, *Ngoko* and *Krama*, has been documented by Poedjosoedarmo and Hadidjaja in 1958 as reported by Setiawan (2013). Therefore, I apply this two classifications in this dissertation.

I further divide *Ngoko* into two types, *Ngoko Lugu* which is a type of *Ngoko* whose all lexicons derive from *Ngoko* lexicon and *Ngoko Alus* which is a form of *Ngoko* which uses the *Ngoko* lexicons and incorporates the lexicon of *Krama* to show respect to the person to whom the speaker(s) talk (Sasangka, 2004). On the field, these two types of *Ngoko* were often mentioned by my participants when they described their linguistic repertoires. *Ngoko Alus* is actually *Antya-basa* and *Basa-antya* but the Javanese people simply call it as *Ngoko Alus*, a term that is also endorsed by some Javanese experts such as Poedjowardojo and Hadidjaja (1958), Sasangka (2004), and Sudaryanta (1991). The dichotomy of *Ngoko* is also apparent in participants' linguistic repertoires in Zent's study (2012) when she conducted her research in a small town in Central Java. In this dissertation, when I used the notion of *Ngoko*, I referred to *Ngoko Lugu* unless I specified otherwise. Two sentences below cited from Sudaryanto (1991, p. 153) provide clear examples about the differences between the two forms.

Ngoko Alus

Wingenane	*simbah*	***tindak***	*mrene*.
The day before yesterday	grandfather/grandmother	came	here

Ngoko Lugu

Wingenane	*simbah*	***mara***	*rene*
The day before yesterday	grandfather/grandmother	came	here

In the example above, the first sentence uses the verb *tindak* which is a *Krama* lexicon and is borrowed in *Ngoko Alus* to give a more polite impression while the second sentence uses the verb *mara* which is a *Ngoko* lexicon.

To understand more about the concept of Javanese speech levels, Errington (1985) provides the following definition of *Ngoko* and *Krama*:

> *Ngoko* is the "basic" language, the language one thinks in, speaks to intimates and inferiors in, loses one's temper in, the language of most natural and spontaneous expression. […]. *Krama* is polite language […] the kind of interaction in which it is normatively presupposed: with non-intimates and superiors, and when one wishes to act with maximal care in a social context. (Errington, 1985, p. 10)

Errington's statement above is corroborated by Siegel (1986) who states that:

> Javanese think *Ngoko*; it is the language they speak when they are excited or when they lose control or when they talk in their sleep. Asked if they talk to themselves in *Krama* is absurd to them, a bizarre proposition since it raises the question of who is being honored. (Siegel, 1986, pp. 22-23)

Siegel (1986) points out that *Krama* is the language to respect the second person. It is to honor the interlocutor. Again, Siegel (1986) highlights the function of *Ngoko* as the language of emotion and *Krama* as the language of non-emotional world. Furthermore, Moedjanto (1986) posits some conditions to use *Ngoko* by mentioning that the use of *Ngoko* is possible when a person speaking to another:

1. Who is of younger age;
2. Who is seen as younger from the point of view of family tree/family relationship/genealogy (In Javanese, this is called *awu*)
3. Whose rank of nobility is lower
4. Whose social status is lower
5. Who is known intimately by the speaker

6. Who becomes the speaker's enemy

When the use of *Ngoko* is prohibited, a person will find Indonesian as the appropriate substitute because of its neutrality. It can play a role as a language to express spontaneity, anger, or intimacy because it is egalitarian and thus lack of honorific and hierarchical senses. This statement is represented by the following excerpt cited from Siegel (1986):

> "A man told me that as a boy he used to quarrel with his brother. His mother forbade the brothers to speak Low Javanese to each other. Not until they realized they could use Indonesian did they begin to fight again." (Siegel, 1986, p. 16)

It is true that unlike Javanese which rigidly stipulates linguistic politeness, Indonesian is the opposite (Moedjanto, 1986). The following sentences are examples of Javanese speech level and an Indonesian sentence to show that linguistic politeness of Indonesian is more simple than that of Javanese.

Javanese:

Ngoko: *Aku arep mangan.*
I want eat (I want to eat)

Madya: *Kula ajeng nedha.*
I want eat (I want to eat)

Krama Inggil: *Dalem badhe nedha.*
I want eat (I want to eat)

Indonesian:

Apakah Anda sudah makan? (honorific word: *anda* 'you')

Apakah kamu sudah makan? (non-honorific word: *kamu* 'you')

‘Did you eat already?’

From the example above, it can be seen that when a person speaks *Krama*, s/he must change the whole words into the honorific forms. Since it is very complicated, many Javanese admit that they do not speak the language very well. It does not mean that they do not speak Javanese at all; they do but they only speak *Ngoko* not *Krama*.

Indeed, when one speaks Javanese, s/he must be careful in choosing the right speech level based on his/her own hierarchical position with regard to the person s/he is talking to because failing to do so will bring not only linguistic but also social consequences. Moreover, it may hurt the interlocutor and violate his/her self-esteem. According to Geertz (1961), the first thought that a Javanese has when s/he meets a new person is, “What degree of respect should I show him/her?” (Geertz, 1961, p. 19). Furthermore, the Javanese people label someone who behaves properly as an *alus* ‘refined’/‘gentle’ person while one of the most important conditions to be *alus* is to speak *Krama* properly.

> To be also in speech is to speak appropriately, that is to use the language appropriate to one’s listener and to please, or at least not to upset, him or her. In most circumstances this means not merely using the vocabulary suitable to one’s listener’s social status, but also speaking in a tone that is cajoling, pleasing, and without sharp edges. (Siegel, 1986, p. 17)

Thus, it is about pleasing and respecting others, specifically those who have a higher social status, senior in terms of age or genealogy (Errington, 1985; Geertz, 1961). However, Geertz (1961) clearly states that “to address to a person with respect does not necessarily mean to be subservient to his authority or even to admit to having less

prestige. It is primarily a matter of etiquette, the rules of proper behavior in specific situation" (Geertz, 1961, p. 19). For a Javanese, to be able to address a person with respect will in turn bring some advantages to himself/herself since people will consider him/her as an *alus* person. In contrast, failing to fulfill the conditions to be *alus* will lead to a negative opinion from others.

This firm linguistic politeness rules causes "linguistic insecurity" among the Javanese speakers who are fear of choosing the wrong level or incorrect lexical items (Setiawan, 2013, p. 61). Zentz (2012) also reports the the same finding among the Javanese college students in Central Java who are not only afraid of making mistakes but also uncomfortable for being constantly corrected of their speech whenever they make a mistake even though they make their best efforts to speak in Javanese *Krama*. This inevitably accelerates their shift to use Indonesian only as a safe option. Zentz's findings (2012) supports the following statement: "The most far reaching effect [...] is that many people, aware that they are not very competent at manipulating the levels, simply use the Indonesian language instead of Javanese in contexts where it is necessary to be formal and polite" (Poedjosoedarmo, 2006, p. 117).

Because of the hierarchichal nature of Javanese language, Javanese speakers tend to select the less asymmetric form of Javanese *Ngoko* to create an equal interaction. Javanese hierarchichal speech interactions were actually still relatively common until the late 1970s; however, the shift to a less asymmetric interaction started to occur in 1980s (Smith-Hefner, 2009). The *Priyayi* (or the elites), who is known for their ability to use the most refined speech levels (*Krama Inggil*), by the early 1980s shifted away from asymmetric exchanges which mainly used the *Krama* 'high'speech level toward the less

asymmetric exchanges of *Madya* ‘middle.’ In addition to that, the non-elites Javanese also displayed a similar trend. It is important to note that *Madya* is still a formal form of Javanese language even though it is not as very formal as *Krama Inggil*. This means that the use of asymmetric social exchanges is still evident in the use of *Krama* although it is not too formal anymore.

Another feature which makes Javanese distinct from Indonesian is that it has its own ortographic system written in Javanese characters, known as *Aksara Jawa* (see Figure 1), whereas Indonesian ortography follows the modern alphabeth.

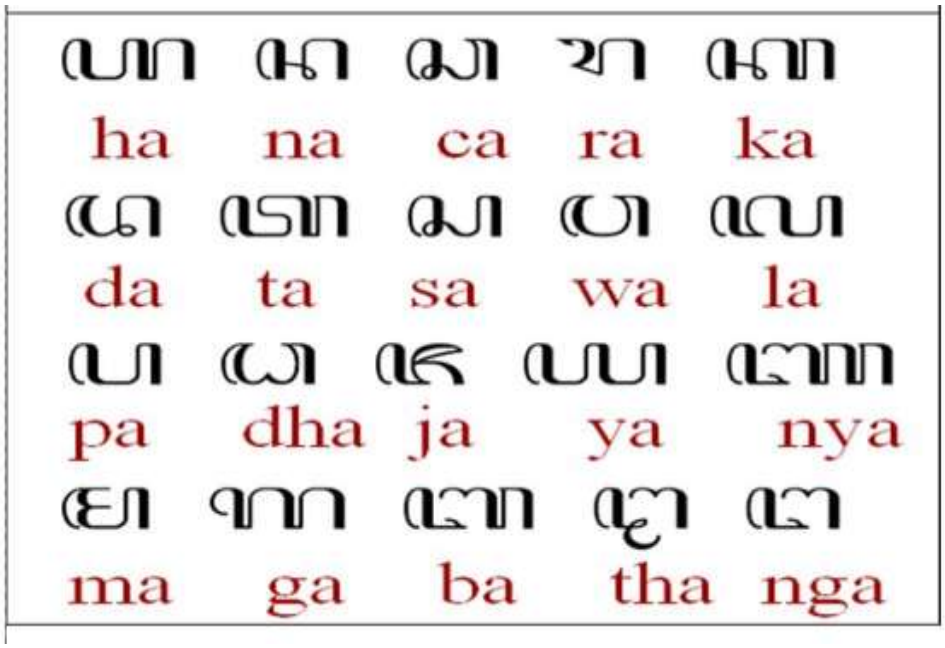


Figure 1. Javanese alphabetic system with transliteration in modern alphabets. Retrieved from http://jawa-smkn2klt.blogspot.com/2014/05/apa-itu-aksara-jawa-aksara-jawa-yang.html

Because each Javanese letter can be transliterated into modern ortography, all modern Javanese text are written in modern alphabets and all Javanese writing activities are done

in modern alphabets too. In fact, Javanese people are no longer proficient in writing in Javanese characters or reading a text written in them. Only those who formally study Javanese language know how to read and write in this ortographic system. To maintain the Javanese ortography, all students from elementary to high schools must learn it although they do not use it in their daily life. Since this dissertation does not focus on *Aksara Jawa*, it will not further discuss it in the next chapters.

Javanese Language Shift

The Javanese ethnic group is the largest ethnic group in Indonesia as they make up almost 50% of the national population (Drake, 1989). However, only 40.5% of the total population of the Javanese speak their native language (Drake, 1989). According to several scholars (Errington, 1998; Oetomo, 1990; Tanner, 1972; Wolff & Poejosoedarmo, 1982), the shift from Javanese language to Indonesian has primarily been evident since 1970s. They associated the phenomenon with the emergence of a new, educated, middle class Javanese. Indeed, the number of Javanese speakers has been decreasing significantly for the past three decades. Actually, the trend to shift away from the native language does not exclusively occur within the Javanese but also other ethnic groups. Indonesian is spoken by 83% of 131 million citizens over the age of five while the rest of the population speaks one of the four hundreds local languages (Errington, 1985). Although being bilingual or even multilingual is common, the current pattern of language choice has played favor to Indonesian at the expense of the local languages (Setiawan, 2013).

The domination of Indonesian is caused by the fact that it is the national and the official language of the country; thus, it is regarded as a high-status language. In addition

to that, Indonesian is perceived as the unifying symbol of the nation. Also, the language carries an egalitarian character because it does not recognize any speech levels. Therefore, people can speak to others who have lower, equal, or higher status with one form of Indonesian whereas most of local languages strictly apply the speech level. As a result, people must pay attention to the status of the interlocutors and use the appropriate form. If not, they will be considered rude because they violate the norms. However, mastering speech levels of a single language requires hard work because they differ significantly as if they derive from a completely different language. Especially for the young generation, speaking Indonesian language is much easier (Setiawan, 2013).

With regard to language shift among the young generation, linguistic repertoires of school age children in Yogyakarta (ranging from 11 through 14 year old) when speaking with their parents at home and their peers at schools, mostly involve Indonesian (Kurniasih, 2003). In addition, their linguistic behavior is influenced by their social class (Kurniasih, 2003). That is, the middle class parents and their children tend to use Indonesian than their lower class counterparts (Kurniasih, 2003). This behavior is a conscious choice made by the 88% of the middle class mothers and 39 % of the middle class fathers who prefer to speak only in Indonesian to their children; however, when they are interacting within their social networks, they use both Javanese and Indonesian (Kurniasih, 2003). In contrast, all the working class parents have the opposite behavior by prioritizing Javanese at home (Kurniasih, 2003). Furthermore, *Krama* is absent in the linguistic repertoire of the middle class families whereas in working class group, children also use *Krama* since their parents still have positive attitude toward *Krama* (Kurniasih, 2003). All in all, the linguistic repertoire of the middle class is *Ngoko* with Indonesian or

Indonesian alone whereas for the working class, they include the mix of Indonesian, *Krama*, and *Ngoko* but never Indonesian alone (Kurniasih, 2003).

The most recent study of Javanese language shift among children aged 9 to 11 conducted by Setiawan (2013) in East Java discovers three important findings regarding children's language proficiency, domains of language use, and language attitude in relation with their geographical residences. First, both children who live in the city and small town have low proficiency in Javanese all skills except reading while their Indonesian fluency is impeccable in all skills. In contrast, children who live in the village exhibit high proficiency in all skills of both Javanese and Indonesian. However, when the proficiency is specifically meant for speech level, the results are different because what children thought as Javanese is *Ngoko* not the higher speech level. The data show that all participants present low competence in *Krama Inggil* but the village children are still fluent in *Krama Madya*, the intermediate speech level, whereas their city and small town peers are not good at all in *Madya*. However, the overall findings suggest that all children are confused with the linguistic politeness rules.

Regarding language used in two primary domains, home and schools, children in the village mainly use Javanese at home to communicate with their parents and siblings but in the class they shift to Indonesian when they speak to their teachers. Interestingly, outside the classroom, these children's selection of language depends entirely on their teachers' preference. When teachers choose Indonesian, the children will respond in Indonesian. However when teachers select Javanese for the conversation, the children will respond accordingly. With their friends and food sellers outside the school, they prefer to use Javanese to Indonesian. Children from small towns also display the same

pattern of linguistic repertoire, but in schools they choose Indonesian both inside and outside the class when they talk to their teachers. In contrast, the big city children use Indonesian only in all domains and very rarely switch to Javanese. In fact, the majority of them admit that Indonesian is their first language. This finding contradict Setiawan's own study in 2001 which documented that the majority of the big city children in East Java used Javanese in almost all domains except for formal domains such as schools or religious places (mosque or church). Setiawan's latest study shows that language shift is in progress so rapidly that in ten years the majority of the big city children have shifted completely to Indonesian.

The third finding, language attitude, present a shocking finding in that all children regardless of their geographical residences express their negative attitude toward Javanese but hold positive attitude toward Indonesian. In their opinion, "Javanese is a difficult, old-fashioned and not cool language [...] not contribute self-confidence and prestige to its speakers. It conveyed the impression that its speakers were poor and village-like. [...] not a language for science, technology, or business" (p. 320). This finding contradicts Suharsono's study (1995) indicating that children in East Java have positive attitude toward their native language. It can be seem that within the course of almost two decades, the children's language attitude exhibit a dramatic change. I believe that the difficulty to master Javanese speech levels triggers these children to label their native language difficult. Moreover, the fact that generally old generation and villagers (who usually are socioeconomically not well-stituated) have high proficiency in Javanese speech levels leads the children to consider Javanese as an old-fashioned, not prestigious, and low class language. Lastly, Javanese is no longer used as a medium of

communication in academic and professional domains. Therefore, the children's opinion indicating that Javanese is not a language for science, technology, or business arguably are influenced by this fact.

In his study, Setiawan (2013) also finds ambivalence among the parents regarding the maintenance of Javanese and their real action to support the continuity of their native language. All parents believe that Javanese is important for their identity; therefore, to be able to speak Javanese is necessary. Although all parents show better Javanese proficiency than their children, they do not make any efforts to pass on the language to their offsprings or to make sure whether Javanese becomes the home language or not. Parents who live in the village do not see the importance of making rigorous efforts to maintain Javanese at home because their children are still proficient to speak Javanese and Javanese is still the primary means of communication at home. These parents' opinion is actually true because the village children are the most proficient compared to the children from small town and big city. However, their competence in speech level is much lower than that of their parents. This aspect is not taken into consideration by the parents who believe that to master Indonesian is more important in order to get good education and better jobs. In fact, they hope their children use Indonesian at home in order to master it. Since most of these parents are poor farmers, they perceive education as an avenue to improve their quality of life and Indonesian is definitely a necessary medium to academically excel in schools. With excellent academic performance, parents expect their children get a good job.

Unlike parents who live in the village, parents living in small town express their positive attitude toward Javanese and strongly agree to have Javanese as their home

language because speaking the native language is crucial for their Javanese identity (Setiawan, 2013). However, they point out the importance of Indonesian for wider communication beyond home domains. Because of that, the home language of this group includes both Indonesian and Javanese. Parents residing in the big city exhibit the same positive attitude as their small town fellows that Javanese is important for their Javanese identity. Therefore, maintaining their native language is crucial. However, these big city parents do not see the mastery of Javanese instrumental because Indonesian plays a more important role in almost all domains. In other words, to simply know Javanese is sufficient while to master Indonesian is essential. As a result, they do not find it necessary to make Javanese as the home language and in fact the home language of this group is Indonesian.

The trend to shift away from Javanese is also apparent among youth and adults. Alip (1993) reports that students in English department at a university in Central Java prioritize Indonesian for their daily linguistic repertoire while English is viewed important for their future. In contrast, they see Javanese less important since its function is limited within home. By comparing the census data between 1980 and 1990, Steinhauer (1994) also records shifting language loyalty among the youth: "The number of youth reporting 'daily use of Javanese' dropped 16.3 percent during that period, whereas the number reporting 'daily use of Indonesian' increased by 38.9 percent" (p. 58).

According to Zentz (2012), rapid language shift from Javanese to Indonesian is primarily due to the implementation of Indonesian LPP in all sectors. Moreover, linguistic insecurity which is present when young people perfom Javanese *Krama* has

discouraged them even more to continue using it. Next, they perceive *Javanese Ngoko* not a real language but simply a *bahasa sehari-hari* 'a daily talk' (Zentz, 2012, p. 55) which is only relevant for limited domains, for instance to communicate with family at home or to people they are close with. As a consequence, they hold lower positive attitude toward *Ngoko*. Furthermore, all of Zentz's participants are aware of the economic value carried by English which will enable them to have competitive skills in the job market and gain social prestige. As a result, they highly regarded English more than their native language.

Language shift is also evident among Javanese women as reported by Smith-Hefner (2009) who conducts her study in Yogyakarta involving female college students, fulltime housewives, and career women. She finds that 18 per cent of her female participants use Indonesian with their parents as opposed to just 8 per cent of men. When asked what language they plan to use with their own children, 52 per cent of male respondents expect to use Indonesian whereas 72 per cent of women plan to do so. Below are two excerpts taken from Zentz's study:

> Of course it will depend on my husband and where he comes from. But I would prefer to use a form of Indonesian which is not too standard or stiff (*nggak terlalu baku dan kaku*). I want to create a "participatory" family life (ingin jadi partisipatoris). I'm against using krama (*saya* 'anti'), because I just can't use it correctly [laughter]. (p. 68)
>
> When I use Indonesian I feel more close, familiar (*akrab*), with my friends because it's more equal (*lebih seimbang*) and "democratic" (*lebih demokratis*). It's like, "I eat and she eats too. I sleep, she sleeps too." So I plan to use

> Indonesian with my own children if my [future] husband agrees. In my opinion it's more comfortable and more flexible [than Javanese]. I want to create an environment of intimacy (*suasana yang akrab*) and equality (*yang demokratis*) in my household. (p. 69)

The comment above reveals that the use of Indonesian will create a "closer", more "equal", "democratic", "relaxed" and "participatory" environment within the home domain. It also implies a more equal relationship between men and women.

Interestingly the finding of her study in 2009 contradicts her older study in 1988 with regard to the inclination to shift among women. In 1988 Smith-Hefner reported that Javanese women were expected to be the role model of good behavior including linguistic politeness at home. Mothers were required to teach their children Javanese Javanese speech levels whereas the husbands were not expected to present model behavior because of their role as the breadwinner of the family made them spend much of their time outside home. This gender role assignment corroborates Geertz (1961) who finds that Javanese men are more dependent in domestic areas. Thus, women (mother/wife) are responsible to manage the household, maintain their native language and pass on the correct use of Javanese to their offsprings. However in the next two decades the situation changed dramatically because it is the women who tend to shift away from Javanese (Smith-Hefner, 2009).

In 2000s, Javanese women achieve higher educational attainment and this arguably makes them more aware of gender equality issues (Smith-Hefner, 2009). The generational differences between women in the '80s and the 2000s become the primary reason why Javanese women in the millennium era tend to shift away from Javanese

language (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Unlike the older generation in Smith-Hefner's older study (1988), these modern Javanese women are well educated which allows them to be more knowledgeable about gender equality issues. As a result, the modern Javanese women are aware of the imbalance relationship between women and men manifested by the Javanese speech levels (Smith-Hefner, 2009). This situation leads them to shift to Indonesian language in order to have more linguistic equality (Smith-Hefner, 2009).

Although the Javanese women of the modern era have higher awareness of gender equality, there are different findings between single and married women (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Married women still continue their roles as the model of good behaviors, to be in charge in doing housechores, to serve their husbands, and to take primary responsibility for the socialization of the children (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Men keep their traditional role as the breadwinner of the family although their wives may have their own professional career or are financially independent (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Men are also still dependent on their wives to take care of the domestic chores (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Specifically, with regard to language use, "fathers are the most frequent recipients of formal Javanese within the family, while women are the ones who are using polite forms or directing and admonishing children to do so—reinforcing the inferior position of women within the household" (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 72). However, these women generally insist that they speak to their husband politely because they must show a proper conduct as a mature woman and this has nothing to do with being inferior or subservient. Interestingly, they never question why the husbands are not required to do the same practice.

Besides preference toward Indonesian, the female college student participants show positive attitude toward Arabic and English for their future children because Arabic

is the language of their religion (Islam) while English is the language of globalization (Smith-Hefner, 2009). They do not see any tangible benefits for passing on Javanese language to their (future) children (Smith-Hefner, 2009). From this finding, it is obvious that emphasizing their religious identity as Muslim becomes their priority. This finding is in line with Smith-Hefner's study in 2007 highlighting that young Muslim Javanese are more inclined to associate themselves with their religious identity for example by wearing veil (for women), emphasizing the importance of Arabic, and a strong commitment to their religious faith and Islamic ways.

Moving on to English, this language is perceived important despite the fact that its function is essentially a foreign language which means that nobody uses it as a daily means of communication. However, due to globalization, the Javanese perceive the mastery of English a beneficial skill in the job market and an avenue to get better education. Moreover, proficiency in English is considered prestigious, modern, successful, and intelligent because those who master English generally coming from educated and upper middle class level (Pennycook, 2006; Sneddon, 2003; Zentz, 2012). As a result, this makes strong pressure for the Javanese to learn English (Sneddon, 2003). Moreover, the educated people in Indonesia tend to speak English, to borrow English words or phrases, or to code mix (Sneddon, 2003). Likewise, the government officials also take part in intensifying this practice by borrowing some English words and expression into their speech "although sometimes without a clear idea of what they mean" (Sneddon, 2003, p. 177). In line with Sneddon's findings, Anwar (1980) claims that the practice of throwing English words into the speech has been apparent since 1980 in Yogyakarta where government officials in order to be perceived intelligent are inclined

to insert some English words and expressions although they do not know the meaning, used incorrect diction, or unclear pronunciation. In response to the positive attitude toward English, not only is English a mandatory subject from elementary to tertiary education, it is also the most sought after language to learn after school which leads many private English course institution to thrive nationwide (Zentz, 2012).

The above elaborations indicate that the shift to Indonesian is in progress along with the inclination toward English and Arabic among the Javanese people. Nevertheless, Javanese language still has the largest number of speakers in Indonesia. Thus, to call Javanese as an endangered language is somewhat not correct. Nevertheless, the following question posed by Ravindranath and Cohn (2014) must be seriously taken into account: "Can a language with millions of speakers be endangered?". Their answer to this question is 'yes' on the ground that the number of speakers does not correlate with how well people will maintain it. Even though Javanese now still have millions of speakers, the language is at risk if the intergenerational transmission stops (Fishman, 1991). Recent studies conducted by Kurniasih (2006), Setiawan (2013), Smith-Hefner (2009) indicate the trend to not pass on Javanese language to the future generation. Furthermore, loss competence in using Javanese *Krama* among young generation, limited use of Javanese *Krama* and *Ngoko*, and negative attitude toward this language will soon exacerbate the vitality of Javanese.

In a similar vein, Fishman (2001) warns us: "Even when things are going well, are they really going well?"(p. xiii). People think that everybody speaks it and because of that they usually do not realize what is happening until they finally lose their native language. With this kind of mindset, it generally takes only three generation to jeopardize

the existence of native languages (Holmes, 2001). Therefore, it is important to bring up the linguistic awareness to the Javanese people instead of waiting until the language is threatened and dying. The case of the Saraguros people in Tambopamba, Ecuador (King, 2001) shows us that the ignorance from the community to maintain Quichua, just because the majority of people could understand it, gradually killed the language. Three decades ago, Quichua was the most important language in Tambopamba but now the language ends up just as a symbol of Indigenous identity without having any active speakers. The vision from Someya (1992) below is worth noting:

> Indonesian will spread… like a tide to rural areas... eventually replacing Javanese [which] is gradually becoming incompatible with such values as directness, clarity, effectiveness, and speed of communication---necessary conditions for the national unity, the "blending" of Indonesian ethnic groups, democracy, modernization, and rationalization required by today's Indonesian government, industries, education, arts, and sciences. (Someya, 1992, pp. 61-62)

The phenomenon of language shift within the Javanese ethnic group will also serve as a reality check for other ethnic groups that the risk of losing a language is faced by all groups. When the biggest ethnic group shifts to the national language, the smaller ethnic groups are undoubtedly in the brink of losing their native languages too.

Summary

This study examines changing language loyalties of the sociopolitically most dominant ethnic group in Indonesia, the Javanese, who gradually shift away from their native language, Javanese, to the national language, Indonesian. According to Drake (1989), only 40.5% of the total population of Javanese speak their native language even

though they make up roughly around 50% of the national population. Some scholars revealed that this phenomenon started in the early 1970s when the new, educated, middle class Javanese emerged (Errington, 1998; Oetomo, 1990; Tanner, 1972; Wolff & Poejosoedarmo, 1982).

More recent studies reported that linguistic repertoires of school age children is no longer Javanese but primarily Indonesian in almost all domains (Kurniasih, 2006; Setiawan, 2013). The trend to shift away from Javanese is also apparent among youth and adults who preferred Indonesian for daily communication and hold positive attitude toward English and Arabic (Alip, 1993; Arka, 2013, Smith-Hefner, 2009; Sneddon, 2003; Zentz, 2012). Another finding reported by Smith-Hefner (2009) indicates that Javanese women are more inclined to shift to Indonesian than their male counterparts. In addition, there is also evidence that intergenerational transmission is interrupted (Kurniasih, 2006; Setiawan, 2013, and Smith-Hefner, 2009). Indeed, these studies documented that the majority of Javanese parents no longer pass on their native language to their offsprings. According to Fishman (1991), a language is at tremendous risk if intergenerational transmission stops. Based on Fishman's statement, I argue that the vitality of Javanese language is questionnable because of the termination of intergenerational transmission.

The fact that the Javanese are numerically the biggest and sociopolitically the strongest ethnic group interestingly does not seem to correlate with the pride to hold on to the native language. This phenomenon has led me to inquire into the extent to which their native language matters for their Javanese identity. Therefore, the first objective to conduct this ethnographic study is to examine the relationship between the phenomenon of changing language loyalty and the Javanese identity among the Javanese people

specifically in Yogyakarta. The second objective is to analyze the national LPP and its impacts toward the maintenance of Javanese language and toward language ideology of the Javanese speakers. Lastly, this study aims at investigating the relationship, if any, between Javanese language shift and larger transformations in contemporary Javanese society on the ground that language shift is not purely a linguistic phenomenon (Arka, 2013; Smith-Hefner, 1988, 2009; Sneddon, 2003; Zentz, 2012). In the following chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework and literature review of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will discuss three components of the theoretical framework of this dissertation which include: (1) a social constructivist approach of identity, (2) nationalist discourse of indigeneity, and (3) critical ethnography of language planning and policy (LPP). The first component explicates how individual identities are composed of the elements of his/her sociocultural background. The second component highlights the primary difference of this study from other researches on Indigenous LPP which generally apply the dichotomy of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous concept. This paradigm is absent in the context of Indonesia since almost everyone in this country is considered Indigenous. The final part of the theoretical framework serves to guide my analysis which examines the three layers of LPP, namely micro, meso, and macro. In the literature review section, I will critically review the development of LPP theory overtime. The literature review will also overview language shift and language maintenance worldwide to examine factors causing language maintenance and language shift.

Theoretical Framework

As stated above, the theoretical framework of this dissertation is composed of three complementary elements−namely, social constructivist approach of identity, nationalist discourse of indigeneity, and critical ethnography of LPP. Social constructivism allows me to explicate that identity is constructed in the presence of others through interaction in which the role of language is essential. The second part of the framework, nationalist discourse of indigeneity, becomes the primary factor that makes this dissertation distinctive from other Indigenous language researches. On the basis of

this framework, I point out the fact that almost everyone in Indonesia is indigenous. Thus, to apply the commonly used Indigeneity approach without considering the local context is misleading. The final part of the framework, critical ethnography of LPP offers holistic approach to analyze changing language loyalty within the contemporary Javanese society. This means that I do not only examine the micro (family) but also meso (schools) as well as macro (national language policy) levels.

Untangling the Identity

> If someone asks 'Who are you?', the answer they expect is your name. Perfectly straightforward [...]. Or maybe the person asking 'Who are you?' already knows your name. Maybe it is you looking in the mirror. Here obviously some more profound form of identity is being sought. Who are you *really*? Who are you *deep down*? Now the answers come far less easily, because who one is 'deep down' can never be fully captured and articulated in words. (Joseph, 2004, p. 1)

According to Riley (2007), the basic meaning of identity is a unique intrinsic feature of an individual and "to put it simplistically, a stone does not need another stone to tell it what it is" (Riley, 2007, p. 86). This means that at a personal level, identity is the accumulation of characteristics that defines the individuality; however, if identity is preceived at a social level, there is no individual who owns unique components that do not exist in anyone (Edwards, 2009). Edwards (2009) further states that the uniqueness of an individual identity is assembled from the elements "drawn from a common human store" (Edwards, 2009, p. 20) and is constructed through socialization with others. Thus, individual identities are composed of features and reflections of one's sociocultural background. In other words, at the social level, identity is known as common

characteristics among individuals within their group(s) (Riley, 2007). This concept of identity can be described in the following model:

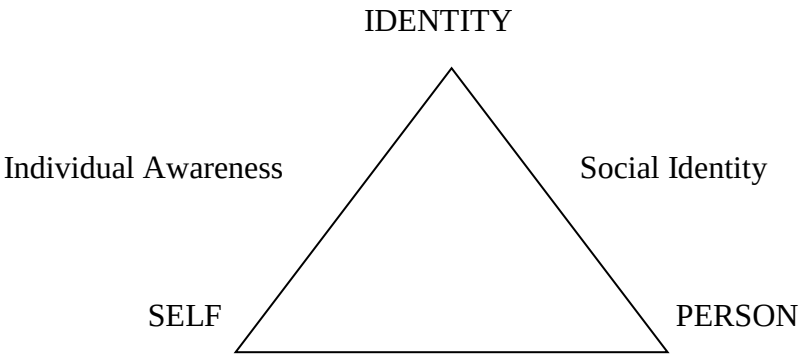


Figure 2. Concept of identity (Riley, 2007, p. 87)

"Self" is the "I", the individuality, the uniqueness of each individual, and the agent of their actions. In contrast, "person" means "what makes this individual like other individuals in terms of shared characteristics, memberships, the "you" that others address and construct" (Riley, 2007, p. 88). Thus, "person" represents our social identity, the identity which others prescribe upon us.

In a similar vein, Jones and McEwen (2000) posit the multi layers of identity theory. At the center lies the core sense of self or known as inner identity, inside self or personal attributes/characteristics, while the layers integrally connected to the core are perceived as outside identity labeled by others (Jones & McEwen, 2000). The closer the layer to the core, the more salient it is for the identity at that time. For example, if race is perceived as salient for an individual at a particular time, it will be placed close to the core. In contrast, if religion is not considered salient, its position will be further away from the core.

All in all, there are two important things which can be highlighted from the aforementioned elaboration. First, identity is not always "natural facts about us, but are mostly things we construct-fictions in effect" (Joseph, 2004, p. 6). The foundation of Joseph's opinion derives from the theory of performative identity postulated by Goffman (1969) who claims that when an individual performs his/her identity, s/he implicitly expects the audience to take seriously his/her performance and believe that the characters being played accurately reflect the qualities s/he has. This performance is a way in which every individual presents him/herself in everyday life (Clarke, 2008). Second, identity is multiple which means that every individual has more than one role in relation to others and it flexibly switches depending on the context or the situation (Joseph, 2004; Thornborrow, 2004).

The life experience of Liu (1998) as the second generation of a Taiwanese immigrant family, offers a vivid illustration about these characteristics of identity. Before his father died, Liu strongly perceived himself as a "white" American:

> Here are some of the ways you could say I am "white": I listen to National Public Radio, I wear khaki Dockers, I own brown suede bucks, I eat gourmet greens, I have few close friends of "color", I married a white woman, I am a child of suburbs, I furnished my condo à la Crate and Barrel, I vacation in charming bed−and−breakfasts, I have never once been the victim of blatant discrimination, I am a member of several exclusive institutions, I have been in the inner sanctum of political power, I have been there as something other than an attendant, I have the ambition to return, I am the producer of culture, I expect my voice to be heard, I speak flawless English, I subscribe to' Foreign Affairs', I do not mind when

> editorialists write in the first person plural, I do not mind how white television casts are, I am not too ethnic, I am wary of minority militants, I consider myself neither in exile nor in opposition, I am considered ‘a credit to my race.’(Liu, 1998, p. 34)

When his father passed away, he started to question his other identity which he used to ignore. His journey to reconstruct his identity began when he frustratingly struggled to read his father’s personal journals written in Chinese. These journals were important for him because through them, Liu would be able to relate to his father’s historical and cultural background which was in fact an important part of Liu’s selfhood. Not only were his reading and writing skills in Chinese poor, his speaking and listening skills were also limited. He could understand the conversation but was barely able to join it. His disability in understanding his father’s life became the starting point of his journey to reconstruct his identity. *“*I sense how difficult it is to be literate in another man’s life, how opaque an inheritance one’s identity is” (Liu, 1998, p. 6).

One thing which we can learn from Liu’s story above is that identity needs recognition from others to be meaningful. Wearing khaki Dockers, owning brown suede bucks, eating gourmet greens, and so forth are Liu’s mental representation of being a legitimate American. The fact that he perfomed these criteria as his identity means that he perceived himself as a “true” American and that others would acknowledge his American identity. By doing so he also hoped that he be included as a member of the American society. In contrast, Liu’s alienation from his heritage culture had excluded him from being a Taiwanese.

From the aforementioned elaboration, there are three main points that can be drawn from the concept of identity. Firstly, identity is always re-constructed and/or re-negotiated depending on the context of interactions. Secondly, identity is multiple which means that every individual has more than one role during the interactive relationship with others. Lastly, a person needs the recognition from others so that s/he can claim a shared collective identity. The foundation of these concepts derives from social constructivism approach which emphasizes the interaction between individuals and the importance of social world. Indeed, the way we perceive ourselves is primarily influenced by our interactions with our family, institutions, and "symbolic universe" (Jackson & Hogg, 2010, p. 743) such as religion or social system; that is, through this interaction, our identity is developed and maintained (Jackson & Hogg, 2010).

As a consequence of the interaction, social constructivism indicates that we cannot avoid being categorized and this categorization is both prescribed upon us by other people and by our own choice. The categorization leads us to enact in accordance with the qualities relevant to the label that people attach on us or the identity we claim to be and to constantly learn how to and why we fit those particular labels. This corroborates Goffman's concept of identity (1969) in which he uses theatrical performance analogy as I have mentioned earlier. It is important to note that just like in a theatrical performance, certain characteristics may be played down while others are more emphasized (Clarke, 2008, p. 512). Therefore, (1) what we think as significant features of our identity might be different from what others consider to be pivotal; (2) our opinion about the important aspects of our identity may change overtime−that is, a certain feature may not be relevant anymore for our identity; and (3) what others demand of us or

categories of people that others prescribe upon us may not always align with our own construction of identity (Jakson & Hogg, 2010).

Based on this elaboration of social constructivism, it is clear that identity needs to be maintained and negotiated while at the same time it can change in line with the context and the relationship. In short, the concept of identity can be summed up as follows (Chandra, 2012):

1. Our perspective:
    (i) Declaring that we are X
    (ii) Enacting as if we were X
2. Others/Audience's perspective:
    (i) Others declare that we are X
    (ii) Others treat us as if we were X.

A life story of my father which I presented in Chapter 1 is a perfect example of identity negotiation, maintenance, and performance. His efforts to blend in to Javanese society by prioritizing Javanese culture in the family domain has successfully made us, his children, to identify ourselves as Javanese. However, others never perceive him as a Javanese even though he can speak Javanese language after living in Yogyakarta for a significant number of years, mainly because he does not come from a family of Javanese descent. It is important to bring up the discussion about language and ethnic identity in this study because "language and ethnicity often share the same designation" (García, 2010, p. 520). That is, the name "Javanese" itself has already reflected an ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity refers to a subset of identities in which descent attributes are necessary for membership (Chandra, 2012; Joseph, 2004). In Indonesia, the government

does not stipulate any rules for ethnic identity assignment for their Indigenous citizens. People simply define themselve who they are based on their families' origins. For example, I generally tell people that I am a Javanese but when they find out my father is a Sundanese, their reponse will be like this: "Oh, so you are a Javanese-Sundanese!" with which I definitely agree. From this example, it can be seen that my mixed identity is primarily based on the descent attribute, regardless of the fact that I am alien to Sundanese language and culture.

When I moved to Bandung, located in West Java province, in 2007, I became more aware of my Sundanese identity especially because this province is the primary concentration of the Sundanese people. As a result, I tried to pick up the language by listening to people who conversed in Sundanese. My Sundanese colleagues who knew that I am half Sundanese often taught me Sundanese words and expressions for everyday conversation. I often inserted one or two Sundanese words to highlight my Sundanese identity in conversations which were conducted in Indonesian. Moreover, overtime I consciously chose to speak Indonesian with Sundanese accent to be accepted by the Sundanese community. But when I returned home from the U.S. for holidays, I switched back to Javanese or Indonesian with Javanese accent. My linguistic behavior here shows my efforts to languaging and ethnifying (Fishman, 2010). The act of my languaging suggests my efforts to display appropriate linguistic practices in two settings, Bandung and Yogyakarta, whereas my ethnifying practices depict my allegiance to a Sundanese or a Javanese identity which I tried to achieve through languaging. In brief, it is through languaging and ethnifying that I performed identifying (García, 2010, p. 519) and that "language, ethnic, and identity are indeed perspectival and contextual and depend on

circumstances that modify them, create them, and or recreate them" (García, 2010, p. 520).

The above elaboration further confirms the importance of language for identifying because language is not just about the words we use, but also the way we say them (Thornborrow, 2004). "Whenever we open our mouths to speak we provide those who hear us, chosen interlocutors and mere bystanders alike, with a wealth of data, a congeries of linguistic clues others use to position us within a specific social stratum" (Blot, 2003, p. 3). This means that our speech contains rich information about who we are. Language is of course not the only factor that defines our identity because shifting from the native language or an inability to speak the native language does not always equal to a complete identity loss (Urciuoli, 1995). A piece from Nicholas (2009) elaborates this issue when she examines the perception of Hopi youth toward their language, culture, and identity. The following is a comment from one of her Hopi youth participants:

> Yeah it's important to speak, but that's not all that counts. Because a *Pahaana* (Anglo) can learn how to speak it, speak the language, but they don't know the meaning behind it, or the actual culture, the in-depth stuff; [so] then they're not Hopi. They don't practice our religious ceremony [ies] and they don't live Hopi; [so] then they're not Hopi." [….] even without a strong origin in the language, youth learn to act, think, and feel Hopi through their active participation in their Hopi world and language is only one of the many ways to experience and learn one's culture. (p. 321)

Nevertheless, it is unquestionnable that language is an important identity marker, especially for a community experiencing dramatic native language shift such as the

Indigenous people because language is often the only tangible identity marker that is left. For such community, losing the native language often equals to losing the identity.

During her ethnographic study in Saraguro, Ecuador, King (2001) finds that the Saraguros strip off their tangible identity markers; for instance, choosing Western apparel over their traditional clothes, giving up the long and single braid hairstyle, and leaving behind their agricultural jobs. As a consequence, the only Indigenous' identity marker that is left is their native language, Quichua. Despite their positive attitude towards the language, the number of its speakers has plummeted over time because there is no systematic and overt LPP involving the cultivation of the language at the micro level (households) to enhance the young generation's language proficiency. Minimum exposure to the native language has led the young generation of Saraguros to shift to Spanish. As a consequence, Quichua merely plays a role as a symbol of indigeneity rather than as an active means of communication. The followings are responses from the Saraguros when they ask about their opinion on losing Quichua (p. 102):

> 'Without the language it would be as if there weren't indigenous people; there isn't anything.'
>
> 'It would end-we stop being indigenous.'

Likewise, the Musqueam, one of the Indigenous tribes in Canada, share the same feelings with the Saraguros regarding the loss of the native language in relation to their identity (Shaw, 2001). "You're really no one .... You can't claim a title to yourself, if you don't have your language, and some practices of your culture, and spiritual goings on" (Shaw, 2001, p. 42).

According to Joseph (2004), the significant position of a language in one's identity is due to its vital functions for human beings. Language does not only serve as a means of communication and a representation of the world−to signify things using words; it is also used to express our emotions and feelings. Furthermore, language has phatic purposes which means that language is used for social interaction (such as "breaking the ice", small talk, etc.) rather than to merely disseminate information. The last function of language is to perform action or as Searle (1969) calls it "speech act," a certain type of acts carried out through speech, namely directives (i.e. suggestion, request), representatives (i.e. claim, report), expressives (i.e. apology, complaint), commisssives (i.e. promise, threat), and declaratives. With its holistic functions for human beings, it is undeniable that language is an important identity marker; thus, "I am my language." This famous statement is coined by the poet and feminist scholar Gloria Anzaldúa in her book Borderlands/La frontera, The New Mestiza (1987) which was later borrowed by González (2001) to be the title of González's book.

On the basis of the social constructivist framework elaborated above, I examine the Javanese identity by addressing both the individual and collective agencies. This means that I incorporate the voices of individuals to see their uniqueness while at the same time analyze how they construct their collective identity. Thus, this framework enables me to investigate internal heterogeneity within group and the possibility of changes both at the individual and social levels. Heterogeneity here is a set of attributes which matters to their Javanese identity.

Nationalist Discourse of Indigeneity

The second part of the framework, nationalist discourse of indigeneity, is crucial to differentiating this research from other Indigenous language studies which generally apply the global concept of indigeneity. Based on the United Nations (UN) report in 1986 documented by José Martinez Cobo, the UN states that:

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies, now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. (Cobo, 1986, p. 3)

International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (1989) and World Bank Directive 4.20 (2003) also indicate similar definition. The difference between the definitions of ILO and World Bank versus that of the UN is that both ILO and World Bank include the term tribal peoples although tribal peoples may not be necessarily the native people of the country (see the footnote below)[2]. However, they live in a similar

[2] 1. International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169, article 1 (1989): (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.
2. The World Bank Operational Directive 4.20 (2003): The terms “indigenous peoples,” indigenous ethnic minorities,” “tribal groupes,” and “scheduled tribes” describe social groups with a social and cultural

situation as that of the Indigenous people in a sense that both groups are socioeconomically and politically non-dominant in their society and generally experience cultural and economic disadvantages. The discourse of minority, marginalization, colonial history, and the dichotomy of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous are also emphasized by the World Council of the Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) and the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP)[3].

The concept posited by these international organizations to some degree is problematic to be adopted in some regions in Asia because they do not share the same sociohistorical and sociopolical background with those of the Indigenous people in America or Australia (Corntassel, 2003; Kingsbury, 1998). In response to this global concept of indigeneity, the Indonesian government (UN, 2012) states that:

> The Government of Indonesia supports the promotion and protection of indigenous people worldwide. Given its demographic composition, Indonesia, however, does not recognize the application of the indigenous people concept as defined in the UN. (UN, 2012, p. 3)

---

identity distinct from the dominant society that makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the development process. For the purposes of this directive, "indigenous peoples" is the term that will be used to refer to these groups.

[3] 3. The World Council of the Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) (1977) (cited in Corntassel, 2003, p. 90): Indigenous Peoples shall be people living in countries which have populations composed of different ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations which survive in the area, and who do not as a group, control the national government of the countries in which they live.

4.The Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) (1986, cited in Corntassel, 2003, p. 89): The existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic, and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form part, under a State structure which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are predominant.

The statement from the Indonesian government above corroborates my claim in chapter 1 that the dichotomy of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous to some degree is absent in the context of Indonesia since almost everyone is considered Indigenous, while the discourse of marginalization toward the Indigenous people by the majority non-Indigenous people is irrelevant. Therefore, to understand the concept of indigeneity in the context of Indonesia, this section discusses the historical background of the citizenship's categorization and the relationship between nationalism and indigeneity.

During the Dutch colonization, the population of Indonesia was divided into three categories, namely the European/Dutch citizens; the *Vreemde Oosterlingen* (foreign easterners); and the *Inlanders* (Indigenous peoples). After the independence in 1945, the Dutch East Indies was internationally recognized as the Republic of Indonesia. In dealing with the citizenship system, the newly-formed country offered two options for the *Vreemde Oosterlingen*: (1) to apply for Indonesian citizenship or (2) to choose Dutch or other citizenships. As a result of this policy, today the Indonesian population is classified into two types, namely the indigenous people (also called *Pribumi* 'natives of the country') and *non-Pribumi* (those whose ancestors were the former European/Ducth citizens and the *Vreemde Oosterlingen*) (Swasono, 1997).

It is important to note that non-*Pribumi* is a term which is intended for the descendants of former European/Ducth citizens and the *Vreemde Oosterlingen*; however, it now becomes a label for the Indonesians of Chinese descent. The decree 62/1958, regulating citizenship, was accused by many as a legitimation to unequally treat the Indonesians of Chinese descent (Suryadinata, 2005). For example, they must have a specific document called *Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia*/SKBRI or

Evidence of Indonesian Citizenship whenever they want to obtain their civil document such as a passport, while the *Pribumi* do not need to do so. In 2006 the Indonesians of Chinese descent finally received equal citizenship treatment when the government issued the new citizenship decree in the decree 12/2006 (Suryadinata, 2005).

Not only were the Indonesians of Chinese descent discriminated against in the citizenship domain, they also did not have freedom to maintain their heritage culture. Celebrating Chinese New Year had been strongly prohibited since the late 1960s (Suryadinata, 2005). Finally in January 2001, the fourth president of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, who was known as a strong supporter of pluralism lifted the ban (Suryadinata, 2005). He declared Chinese New Year as a national public holiday and officially allowed the Indonesians of Chinese descent to celebrate it openly (Suryadinata, 2005). Nevertheless, in the daily public, social and political discourses, the classification of *Pribumi* and *non-Pribumi* (Indonesians of Chinese descent), and the covert marginalization are still prevalent (Suryadinata, 2005). Interestingly, although the Indonesians of Chinese descent make up only a very small percentage of the total population of Indonesia and are sociopolitically marginalized, they are economically more powerful and primarily control the manufacturing, financial, and trading sectors (Suryadinata, 2005). Since the conflict between *Pribumi* and *non-Pribumi* is not the primary objective of this research; this issue will not be further explored.

The next reason why implementing a global context of indigeneity is inappropriate for this study is that the Indigenous/*Pribumi* have a more privileged sociopolitical position than the non-Indigenous/*non Pribumi*, whereas the *non Pribumi* become the subject of marginalization. Furthermore, the Indigenous are numerically the

majority and in fact, almost everyone is Indigenous. In brief, being Indigenous will bring more privileges than being Non-Indigenous. With regard to the Javanese people, this ethnic group is numerically the biggest and sociopolitically the most influential. The position of the Indigenous people or *Pribumi*, especially the Javanese ethnic group, in Indonesia is strikingly different from that of the Indigenous People in other areas such as the Americas and Australian continent. Moreover, the discourse (and reality) of oppression and minoritization, reflected by native language annihilation, is not relevant in the context of Indonesia. To use the global discourse of indigeneity for this ethnic group is not relevant even though the Javanese are one of the indigenous groups in Indonesia.

To understand the concept of indigeneity in the context of Indonesia, a discussion on the historical background of the citizenship's categorization must be taken into account. In the past, the Dutch colonial government implemented *divide et impera* policy (literally divide and rule/conquer). This policy was intended to gain and maintain power by breaking up larger concentrations of power into small units. The fact that Indonesia was highly pluralistic made it easy for the Dutch to successfully implement the policy. It was true that each ethnic group sought to be the most dominant one. Because of that, the colonial government encouraged this atmosphere by maintaining a *de jure* and *de facto* policy of intergroup competition in order to keep each ethnic group in conflict with one another. The young nationalists who fought for the independence were aware of the *divide et impera* policy so they started the movement to unify the nation by declaring *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge) in October 1928 during the second Indonesian Youth Congress. The Youth Pledge marked the acknowledgement of Indonesian as a symbol to unify the nation. The following is the content of the Youth Pledge:

Pertama

Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mengakoe bertoempah darah jang satoe, tanah air Indonesia.

Kedoea

Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mengakoe berbangsa jang satoe, bangsa Indonesia.

Ketiga

Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mendjoendjoeng bahasa persatoean, bahasa Indonesia.

Firstly

We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia.

Secondly

We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia.

Thirdly

We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, uphold the language of unity, Indonesian language.

The choice of Indonesian as the symbol of national unity during the colonialisation period and as the national language after the independence was mainly based on its perceieved "neutral" quality. Indonesian, which is originally a dialect of Malay, is perceived to be neutral because it is the mother tongue of a small ethnic group in the coastal area in Sumatra. This Malay dialect, which later develops into Indonesian, had been used for centuries as the *lingua franca* since the native speakers of this language were known as traders who often traveled and were in contact with other ethnic groups

(Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). By choosing a language used by a small ethnic group, nobody would feel that they had to give up their mother tongues for the sake of a particular language spoken by an ethnic group that is numerically dominant (Moeliono, 1994). "Thus, although almost every group had to be willing to give in on the use of their own native language, the decision did not result in a dominant group winning out" (Moeliono, 1994, p. 198). In short, Indonesian has a function to tie the citizens from various ethnic groups and to become a significant medium to achieve ethnic unity. Having a national language has helped the people of Indonesia shed the colonizer's language, Dutch, from Indonesian territory (Zentz, 2012). Therefore, Indonesian plays a major role as the symbol of nationalism and national unity.

Although the purpose of inducting Indonesian to be the national language was an effort to promote nationalism by erasing linguistic trace of the colonizer, the one nation-one language principle was undeniably a part of the legacy of Western colonization because it was the Dutch who introduced this concept in Indonesia through the promotion of Dutch language (Zentz, 2012). The Dutch was strongly influenced by the Herderian ideology of one nation-one language, advocating national unity through linguistic unification (Zentz, 2012). This idea was later adopted by the Indonesian founding fathers who because of their European educational background were so familiar with Herderian ideology that they became more inclined to the idea of one nation-one language (Zentz, 2012). While the colonial government chose Dutch as the identity of the colonized land, the founding fathers selected Indonesian as the unifying symbol of the independent nation (Zentz, 2012). Further discussion on LPP in Indonesia since the pre-independence to the independence periods can be found in Chapter 7.

Despite its important role in unifying hundreds of ethnic groups, Indonesian has been accused of being the number one killer language because the speakers of local languages opted to shift away from their native languages and chose Indonesian as their primary language in all domains. Indeed, the national LPP has created an environment which discourages local languages from thriving? within the national domain (Zentz, 2012). It is true that the Ministerial Decree No. 24/2009 article 24 (see appendix B) shows the government's support to foster local languages; however, the intention to promote these languages is outpowered by policies to use Indonesian in all domains. As a result, many local languages have been reported extinct while some are endangered (Lewis et al., 2015). This explanation about the historical background of the Indonesian citizenship and the selection of Indonesian as the national language strongly support my arguments that a nationalist discourse of indigeneity framework strongly fits within the context of Indonesia.

Critical Ethnography of Language Planning and Policy

Critical ethnography of language planning and poliy (LPP) becomes the final component of the theoretical framework for this dissertation. Critical ethnography of LPP is characterized by three features. Firstly, it acknowledges the insider's perspectives to understand the phenomenon. Secondly, language is culturally, historically, and comparatively contextualized. Lastly, this framework encourages a holistic analysis. Thus, critical ethnography of LPP analyzes "the connections between the micro, meso, and macro processes by critically inspecting the web of social meanings at their interface" (McCarty, 2011, p. 10). In short, it seeks to understand LPP at personal, institutional, and national layers (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

This framework fits perfectly with the nature of this dissertation research, which relies on the researcher/insider perspective and significantly takes into account the voices of the participants to understand the Javanese identity, the position of Javanese language in the construction of identity, and the policy to maintain the language. In addition, this dissertation seeks to unravel the holistic picture of the contemporary Javanese society in regards to their relationship with their native language and identity. Because of that, the needs to investigate the phenomenon from the micro, meso, to macro levels are unquestionnable.

On the basis of Hornberger's (1994, 2006) and McCarty's (2011) paradigms, I examine the implementation of LPP at the micro level (family domain) of the Javanese people across generations and from different socioeconomic backgrounds to understand their perspective on the meaning of language and identity and to observe how history, culture, and context play intertwined roles in maintaing Javanese language and defining identity. At the meso level, I inspect the LPP accomodation in schools by reviewing the syllabus, lesson plan, and the implementation in classrooms. Inspection at the meso level is significant because the perpetuation of a native language can be accelerated by the curriculum taught in schools. At the macro level, I analyze the Indonesian constitution and central and local government decrees to examine local language maintenance.

Literature Review

In this section, I review the literature of this dissertation which primarily consists of two topics, (1) language planning and policy (LPP) and (2) language shift and language maintenance. The first part of this section discusses the definitions of LPP and three periods of LPP theory development: 1950s to 1960s, 1970s to 1980s, and mid

1980s to today. I also incorporate a discussion on a multilayered LPP framework posited by Hornberger (1994, 2006) and Kaplan and Baldauf (2003). The second topic, language shift and language maintenance, elaborates language shift and language maintenance across the globe. I start the explanation with the definition of language shift and language maintenance. Then, on the basis of some classic and recent studies on these phenomena, I highlight a series of factors causing people to shift or to maintain their native languages.

The Development of Language Planning and Policy Theory

The term language planning was firstly coined in the scholarly literature by Einar Haugen in 1959 as activities to develop normative ortography, grammar, and dictionary to guide people of a heterogenous speech community in relation to? their speaking and writing. This definition entails four aspects−namely conscious attempts, planners, linguistic diversity, and codification. That is, language planning is not an automatic activity but a conscious one with an end goal which generally is to reduce linguistic diversity. For example, the case of Indonesia where the induction of their national language, Indonesian, is to unite multi-ethnic groups with different languages into one nation. On the basis of Haugen's definition, Cooper (1989) reframes the concept of language planning into an elaborated question which is still relevant to this day: "What *actors* attempt to influence what *behaviors* of which *people* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what *effect*?" (p. 98).

In its early days, the focus of LPP is highly influenced by the macro-sociopolitical factors of the post World War II, especially the transformation of the newly born nation from a colonial polity to an independent nation. This early post colonial context is

reflected in the works of LPP researchers who primarily examine the typologies and language planning in relation with the induction of national language "for the purpose of modernization and nation-building" by applying Haugen's descriptive model, namely selection norm, codification norm, implementation, and elaboration (Ricento, 2000, p. 11). This period is mainly characterized by the framework of unification. Scholars especially the West European sociolinguists posit that for the sake of successful nation buildings, ethnic and cultural as well as linguistic unity are the primary prerequisites (Ricento, 2000). In other words, linguistic diversity will cause problems for national development whereas linguistic homogeneity would facilitate modernisation and Westernisation (Ricento, 2000).

Fishman (1968) posits that only a developed or potentially developed language could act as a unifying symbol of a nation. What Fishman means by a developed language is a written and standardized language which was able to follow the technological and social development. However the problem with the language of the new established nation is that it does not have literate tradition so that it must be modernized to be adaptive with modern world and to be able to spread literacy. West European sociolinguists suggest using European languages such as English and French to be the national language in the decolonized countries in response to the inadequacy of the local languages to meet the needs of the modernity while local languages may play other roles (Ricento, 2000). Fishman (1968) also agrees on this opinion and states that to overcome this problem, language planners should borrow Western languages, if possible, to efficiently accelerate the modernization of the language.

In the second period of LPP development, between 1970s-1980s, scholars begin to reconsider approaches widely used in the early days of LPP because these works fail to acknowledge the sociohistorical and political context of the people and regions being studied. To utilize Western epistemology of unification (one nation-one language-one culture) is not socioculturally and politically relevant. Moreover, to propose European languages as mediums to expedite national development will only secure and benefit the economic interests of the developed countries while at the same time will negatively affect the socioeconomic and political interests of the developing nations and the marginalized language speakers.

> Further, it became apparent that language choices could not be engineered to conform to 'enlightened' models of modernity; linguistic behavior was social behavior, motivated and influenced by attitudes and beliefs of speakers and speech communities, as well as by macro economic and political forces. (Ricento, 2000, p. 16)

The third phase of LPP taking place in the mid 1980s to today puts emphasis on the relationships among language, power, and inequality (McCarty, 2011; Ricento, 2000). The reason for focusing on those three aspects is that the decision made as a result of LPP activities will not only affect the language per se but also the speech community because it will bring advantages for some and disadvantages for some others, such as "loss of privilege, status, and rights" (Wiley, 1996, p. 104). It is also worth noting that in this phase scholars have begun to take into account the roles of not only groups but also individuals in "the processes of language use, attitudes, and ultimately policies" (Ricento, 2000, p. 208). The conceptual framework of this third phase is highly influenced by the

globalization of capitalism and transnational movement which cause massive migrations, the creation of imagined community, reconstruction of group identity, and the competition between "regional languages" and "supranational languages" (Ricento, 2000, p.16). Thus, this phase is characterized by the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism and linguistic human rights. This phase is also known for its critical approaches to these multitude global events (McCarty, 2011).

With regards to the relationship between language planning and language policy, scholars like Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) agree that language planning precedes language policy, whereas Fishman (1991) and Ricento (2000) indicate otherwise. However, according to McCarty (2011), planning and policy are interdependent, inseparable, and "co-occuring sociocultural processes" (p. 8). Therefore, each of the LPP activities is inextricably related and their goals affect the others. The relationship between planning and policy can be seen in Table 2 which describes the four cores of LPP activities (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 202). The four-core-framework is a reformulation of Hornberger's integrative framework (1994, 2006) containing three elements−status, corpus, and language-in-education plannings. Corpus planning encompasses activities to develop a language while status planning assigns functions to languages in a given speech community while acquisition planning is concerned with the promotion of a language through formal (educational system) or informal channels (i.e. individuals learning method, community based efforts) to increase the number of its users. Prestige planning is a new core added by Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) involving the promotion of "specialised language forms" for important domains in the hope that the language will achieve a high status (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 223).

Table 2

A Framework for Language Planning Goals (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 202)

Approaches	1. Policy Planning (on form)	2. Cultivation Planning (on function)
Types (overt-covert)	Goals	Goals
1. Status Planning (about society)	Status Standardisation • Officialisation • Nationalisation • Proscription	Revival • Restoration • Revitalisation • Reversal Language Maintenance Interlingual Communication • International • Intra-national
2. Corpus Planning (about language)	Corpus Standardisation • Graphisation • Grammatication • Lexication Auxiliary Code Standard • Graphisation • Grammatication • Lexication	Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation • Purification • Reform • Stylistic simplification • Terminology unification Internationalisation
3. Language-in-Education (Acquisition) Planning (about learning)	Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign Language/Second Language Shift
4. Prestige Planning (about image)	Language Promotion • Official/Government • Institutional • Pressure Group • Individual	Intellectualisation Language of Science Language of Professions Language of High Culture

Language Shift and Language Maintenance: An Overview across the Globe

The terms language shift and language maintenance, popularized by Fishman (1964), refers to a situation where more socially and politically dominant language displaces a mother tongue to be the primary means of communication. Language maintenance, also central in Fishman's work, refers to the continuing use of a language within the family-community domain, despite the existence of more socially and politically powerful languages. The definitions imply that there are more than one language involved when language shift or language maintenance occurs and that power differentials between two or more speech communities exist. Because of these characteristics, a period of bilingualism typically appears during the process of shift (Bloomfield, 1933; Fishman, 1964, 1971; Haugen, 1956, Romaine, 1989).

According to Haugen (1965), bilingualism refers to a point where speakers of particular languages can create complete and meaningful utterances in another language. His concept of bilingualism is somehow unclear; for example, many people are able to produce complete and meaningful utterances in another language but they never make any further progress (Romaine, 1989). The imbalanced proficiency in the two languages is so great that it is problematic to call them bilinguals. In response to this, Romaine (1989) suggests a minimal definition of bilingualism so that it can also be used to determine the initial phase of contact between two languages.

Another definition of bilingualism is proposed by Bloomfield (1933) who states that bilingualism is the native-like control of two languages. This definition, again, presents another drawback. Equal fluency in two languages does not always mean equal fluency in both languages in all possible topics or domains (Fishman, 1971). Thus, a

person may be bilingual to some degree but not equally fluent in both languages. In other words, someone can be called bilingual if s/he has competence in another language in at least one of the four skills: writing, reading, speaking, and listening (MacNamara, 1969). Lastly, focusing bilingualism only on people who have equal and native dominance of two or more languages means excluding the vast majority of cases (Spolsky, 1988).

Bilingualism does not only occur at the individual level but also at the societal level; that is, when two or more languages are spoken in a community, societal bilingualism occurs (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Societal bilingualism specifically refers to the existence of two or more languages in a community without entailing that all or the vast majority of the members of the community have competence in those languages (Hoffmann, 1991). In a bilingual community, there are two possible consequences that must be faced; the first is prolonged bilingualism and the second is return to monolingualism (Grosjean, 1982). Prolonged bilingualism refers to a situation where bilingualism is maintained for a long period of time. In contrast, return to monolingualism is a situation where there is native language maintenance and the disappearance of another language, or a shift to the group's second language and the disappearance of the first language, or the last possible situation is that the emergence of a new language through the process of pidginization and creolization.

There are some factors causing language shift and language maintenance. It is important to note that all factors of language shift and language maintenance do not exist independently; in other words, they co-exist and are related to each other. The phenomena are generated by five major factors, namely (1) economic, (2) social, (3) political, (4) demographic, and (5) attitudinal (Holmes, 2001). Economic factors refer to

the control of language over the economic aspect of the community. For example, due to the capital value of English, the majority of the Indigenous people in Australia have shifted to English and only 13.26% of them speak their native language at home (Walsh, 2002). In addition to economic factors, social status is another parameter to decide whether or not a language is more valuable than other languages. This means that when people perceive their language socially valuable, they will make efforts to maintain the language. For instance, in Dominica-West Indies, parents encourage their children to leave behind their native language, Patwa (a French-based creole), and prohibit the use of it in most domains because they believe that Patwa discourages the children's acquisition of English, a language perceived as the key to social mobility (Paugh, 2005). Another factor triggering language shift is political aspects which can be seen in the case of Oberwart, Austria (Gal, 1979). Before the First World War, Oberwart was a part of the Hungarian territory; therefore, Hungarian was widely spoken there (Gal, 1979). However, people dramatically shifted from Hungarian to German, the official language of Austria, after the Second World War when Austria took over Oberwart (Gal, 1979).

The fourth cause of language shift is demographic factors which indicate the distribution of the language and the speakers of the language. Giles (1977) states that native languages will be better maintained if their speakers live in a concentration area far from other speech communities. However, in this era of globalization, the advantage of living in isolated areas and its relation with language maintenance need to be further examined. King (2001) reports that even though Tampobampa is considered a rural area in Ecuador, this village cannot avoid language shift. The shift is primarily caused by the cyclical migration of the residents for cattle raising activites, jobs opening at neighboring

areas, and influences of the curriculum in schools. In 1945 almost everyone spoke Quichua as their first language, but nowadays only those who are over 46 years old still perceived Quichua as an important means of communication whilst the younger generation (aged 0-30) mostly speak Spanish with limited competence in Quichua. Adults (aged 31 and 45) who speak both Spanish and Quichua are the last generations who still maintain the native language and become the bridge between the old and young generations. This means that when the old generations die, so does the language because the adults will no longer feel responsible to mediate the communication between the old and the young generations.

The fifth factor is attitude towards the language. When a community highly values their language, the language will generally be better maintained. For example, French in Quebec has gained an important position because it is perceived as the symbol of Quebec's identity. Another example is Hawaiian language. In the early 1980s, Hawaiian language was dying with only fewer than 50 native speakers under the age of 18 (Kawai'ae'a, Housman, Alencastre, 2007; Nämähoe & Barcarse, 2007). To save the language and most importantly to bring back the Hawaiian language as the daily means of communication, an immersion preschool called *Pünana Leo* was initiated (Kawai'ae'a, Housman, Alencastre, 2007; Nämähoe & Barcarse, 2007). Now, the immersion education exists from pre-school to higher education resulting in the sharp increase of Hawaiian speakers (Kawai'ae'a, Housman, Alencastre, 2007; Nämähoe & Barcarse, 2007). In addition to that, the language has gained back its important position not only as the symbol of identity but also as an important medium of communication (Kawai'ae'a, Housman, Alencastre, 2007; Nämähoe & Barcarse, 2007).

Besides the five factors above, there are other important reasons accelerating people to maintain their native language or to shift to another language−namely socio-historical processes, institutional support, educational attainment, and intermarriage. Sociohistorical status refers to the historical role of a language as a medium to unite members of the community (Giles, 1977). For example, as I have mentioned earlier, Indonesian is chosen as the national language because it has proved its role as the *lingua franca* since the Dutch colonisation and the unifying symbol for all ethnic groups. The next factor, institutional support, corresponds with the official support toward a particular language. When a language has strong support from formal institutions, the language will certainly live longer. With respect to the educational level, Tuominen (1999) finds that highly educated parents generally will be successful in passing on the native language. In contrast, Kloss's study on German-American (1966) indicates that parents with higher educational attaintment tend to give up their native language. The reason underlying this situation is that education increases the chance to interact with people using the dominant language.

The next factor, intermarriage, has become one of the major causes of language shift in the era of globalization. For instance, in North America, intermarriage plays a significant role in transforming families into monolingual English (Castonguay, 1982; Stevens, 1985). Similar evidence is presented by Anderson (1999) who studies a family composed of a British wife and a Greek husband in Greece. He finds that problems caused by linguistic differences often occur within this family. The wife feels responsible for her child's English proficiency while the husband considers Greek a more important

language to learn. The wife wants her child to be more sociopragmatically[4] competent when conversing in English because there are some sociopragmatic features in English that are absent in Greek so she wants her child to know it. For example, differences in request act. In Greek, saying "please" to the people they are emotionally close to when performing a request act is considered too formal and even somewhat sarcastic. In contrast, "please" in English request act is expected to utter for the sake of politeness regardless of the relationship between the speakers.

> We went back to England for a holiday and I was trying to get her to say 'please' all the time, or when she was supposed to, because the kids here [Greece] tend not to say it that much. My father was appalled when she wouldn't say 'please' or 'thank you'. But when we came back to Greece, Taki [her husband] thought that she was being too formal. I tried to tell him that in England you have to say 'please' and 'thank you' a lot, otherwise it sounds rude. He said it was too formal, and in Greece people are not so formal. He even thought it sounded sarcastic. It caused quite a bit of friction between us, and Andrea was just confused. (Anderson, 1999, p. 21)

A classic study conducted by Stevens (1985) informs the strong relationship between language shift and intermarriage. According to Stevens (1985), a family that has a parent who is a minority language speaker is unlikely to transmit the minority language to their children. A more recent study from Brewer (2003) corroborates previous findings on this issue when she investigates Korean-American biracial/bicultural families. Korean

[4] Sociopragmatic competence in a language comprises more than linguistic and lexical knowledge. It implies that the speaker knows how to vary speech act strategies according to the situational or social variables present in the act of communication. (Harlow, 1990, p. 328)

language is not passed on to the children and the family members generally turn to English.

Scholars also recognize gender as one of the influential factors in language shift and/or language maintenance. For instance, Medicine's study (1987) reveals the role of Native American women of Lakota Sioux as linguistic and cultural brokers. These women are recruited to work at the houses of missionaries and other agents of change dominated by White people. As a result of the interaction, they become more proficient in English, introduce their children to English and the White's culture while at the same time also make efforts to maintain the native language at home. Similar finding is also reported by Zentella (1987) who discovers that the Puerto Rican women in New York City are expected to preserve a Spanish-speaking tradition and to mediate between the dominant and minority cultures. Schecter and Bayley's study (1997) investigate three Mexican-descent families in Texas and California, specifically looking at efforts made by three mothers to maintain Spanish at home. Two mothers choose a conventional way to encourage their children to speak Spanish; i.e., using Mexican children stories and songs or teaching names of various objects at home. The third mother, on the other hand, opts for an extreme way to maintain the language by refusing to learn English at all. She even refuses to respond to her children if they speak to her in English. In fact, she cannot speak English although she has lived in the U.S. for ten years. As a consequence, her children must be proficient in Spanish to be able to communicate with her. This method definitely has secured the position of Spanish in her home domain. These studies align with Holmes' claim (1993) that women are more in favor of native language retention.

A more recent study about the role of women as the guardian of the native language and culture is conducted by Mukherjee (2003) who explores the issue of native language maintenance among Malaysian and Indian-born Bengali women. She finds that women are the cultural and linguistic ambassadors. This position is primarily held by the older Indian-born Bengali women while the Malaysian-born ones feel less knowledgeable in their native language and culture. They are far more proficient in English due to the important role of English in the job market in Malaysia even though they make efforts to learn Bengali. Interestingly, both older and younger generations of Bengali women deliberately refuse to speak in Malay, the national language of Malaysia. There is also the trend of endogamous marriages arranged by the older generation. This strong assertion for maintaining Bengali language and culture in the community can be intrepreted as an expression of resistance to more dominant Malay value systems in Malaysia (Mukherjee, 2003).

Cavanaugh's study (2006) in Bergamo, northern Italy, reveals the same role attached to women which later influenced language shift. It is true that language policy in Italy, especially before and after World War II, strongly encourages the use of Italian in all domains; but it is also worth noting that gender also plays an important role in language shift. According to Cavanaugh, 15 to 20 percent more men than women are reported to speak Bergamasco. The first reason of this phenomenon is that the role of women as the primary caregiver in the family makes them responsible for their children's language socialization and linguistic success. Considering that Italian is the most important language in the country, women encourage their children to master this language.

The second reason is the gendering factor labeled to Bergamasco. This language is viewed as a masculine, *rozzo* 'rough' and 'unrefined' language (Cavanaugh, 2006, p. 198) because of its pronunciation which "involves low-pitched tones, more common for male voices" (Cavanaugh, 2006, p. 198). Moreover, Bergamasco is often associated with male construction workers' language choice since this group is proficient in it. This fact strengthens the stereotype of Bergamasco as men's language. Thus, for a man regardless of their profession, to speak Bergamasco would give him a masculine impression, whereas women who dare to speak it will be judged as less attractive, less educated, and less desirable. Therefore, women prefer not to be associated with Bergamasco at all.

Some studies also report that children in immigrant families contribute to their families' language choice. For example, Tuominen's study (1999) reveals that immigrant parents in the U.S. usually fail to maintain the existence of their native languages at home despite their strong efforts to protect the language because of their children's language choice. Influenced by socialization at schools, the children feel that as a real American, they must speak English. As a result, they refuse to speak their native language in all domains and to attend ethnic language schools. Because of their negative attitude toward their native language and because of parents' decision to follow the children's positive attitude toward English, the linguistic repertoire within the family domain gradually changes into monolingual English. The following excerpt illustrates Tuominen's experience when the interviews with the parents are interrupted by the children who bluntly express their opposition towards their native language:

> This same child, who had been listened when I asked what the family speaks at home, blurted out, "American, speak American!" In another family, no sooner had

the mother told that the family speaks only Russian at home, when her son walked the door and yelled loudly, in clear unaccented English, "Hi Mom"!" (p. 11).

Indeed, children are likely to bring the host country's language (e.g. English) home and become the language broker for the family due to the influence of the schools (Orellana, 2009). The same findings are also reported by Romero-Little (2010) and Wong-Fillmore (1991) which highlight children's positive language attitude toward the majority language because of the school's influence. "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First", the title of Wong-Fillmore's article, precisely describes the phenomenon.

Religions also trigger language shift and language maintenance. Florey and Bolton (1997) reported that in Central Maluku, Indonesia, religious affiliations influence patterns of language choice. In Maluku, three primary religions, namely Christian, Islam, and ancestral religions are present. Both in Christian and Muslim villages, indigenous languages are dying because people shift toward the local lingua franca *Ambonese Malay* (a variety of Indonesian which derives from Indonesian and local dialect). In contrast, in villages where the inhabitants still embrace the ancestral religious practices, the Indigenous languages as well as ancestral traditions are better maintained across generations (Florey & Bolton, 1997). Nevertheless, it is noticable that the functions of indigenous languages in these areas shrink overtime (Florey & Bolton, 1997). It is worth noting that most groups in Maluku have now converted from their ancestral religions to Islam or Christianity (Florey & Bolton, 1997). Therefore, it can be inferred that the majority of people will also leave behind their indigenous languages at the same time they convert to these two major religions (Florey & Bolton, 1997). Musgrave and Ewing (2006) also discover similar findings related to language and religion in Maluku that both

Muslim and Christian communities cannot retain their mother tongue anymore. Musgrave & Ewing (2006) indicate that the geographical location also contribute to the maintenance of the language. The more isolated the location is, the stronger the language can be maintained. For example, a Christian community in the mountains of Seram is the strongest local language maintainer due to their isolated location.

Wang (2002), who synthesizes previous studies and uses indirect data regarding languge shift and religious identity, reports the same phenomenon among the Chinese immigrants in Canada who converted from their ethnic religions to Christianity. Conversion to Christianity has caused rapid shift to English while maintaining the ethnic religions encourages the community to have the strongest mother tongue retention Wang (2002). Moreover, Wang (2002) finds that the Chinese Christian immigrants who are affiliated with their ethnic churches maintain their native language better than those who go to the mainstream Canadian Christian churches. In other words, the group which has the strongest mother tongue retention is the group who maintains the ethnic religions while the Christian group which goes to the ethnic church is inclined to shift. The weakest native language retainers are those who are affiliated with the mainstream Canadian Protestant churches such as Anglican or United Churches. Wang (2002) also points out that diminishing native language competence, especially in the third generation, is more rapid within the community that is associated with the mainstream churches than the third generation coming from the groups that are loyal to their ethnic religions or ethnic churches.

Jaspal and Coyle (2010) find that these Muslim immigrants in England place Arabic on the top of the ladder. Although they do not leave behind their native language,

they emphasize the importance of learning Arabic to understand the *Qur'an* and the Prophet's messages; that is, Arabic as a liturgic language and not a means of daily communication. In addition, knowing Arabic is an inseparable part of Muslim identity which they share with immigrants from other South Asian ethnic groups: "Arabic is the language of Muslims-that's how it was supposed to be" (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010, p. 23). Nevertheless, the participants positively value their heritage language, especially when it is compared to other immigrants' languages. This excerpt is cited from one of the participants in Jaspal and Coyle's (2010) study: "Mirpuri is much clearer than Urdu anyway and it's easier to understand. I prefer that to Urdu [...] Yeah, it's a shame that 'apne' ['our people'] feel bad about using it more in public" (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010, p. 27). This shows that this speaker of Mirpuri language is proud of her heritage language and views Mirpuri better than Urdu. Bitar (2011) and Martin (2009) unravel almost the same findings among Palestine and Middle-Eastern immigrants in USA. They highly regard Arabic because the language directly indicates their ethnic identity while indirectly the language shows their religious identity.

In conclusion, it is evident that language maintenance and language shift are global affairs; no geographical entity in the world can be exempted from these phenomena. In fact, the phenomena have been known throughout the history of humankind and it is clear that these sociolinguistic processes are very much part of the global present (Crystal, 2003). However, language shift has arguably reached a crisis point, as globalization forces are pushing half the world's languages to the breaking point, with predictions that most of these endangered languages will not survive the 21st century (Crystal, 2003). "It is a race against time" and we have to act now to save a

language from death. [....] when even one language falls silent, the world loses an irredeemable repository of human knowledge" (McCarty, 2013, p. 148).

Summary

In this chapter, I elaborated the three-pronged theoretical framework of this study, namely a social constructivist approach of identity, nationalist discourse of indigeneity, and critical ethnography of language planning and policy (LPP). The first part of the framework, social constructivism, emphasizes the importance of the interaction among individuals and the social world for a person's identity. The consequence of these interactions in the social world is that there will be categorization, both prescribed upon us by other people and by our own choice, leading us to enact in accordance with the identity which we claim or which people attach on us. This statement aligns with Goffman's performative identity (1969) in which he states that when an individual performs his/her identity, s/he implicitly expects the audience to take seriously his/her performance.

Based on the above elaboration, in this chapter I argued that language and ethnic identity is important to discuss because "language and ethnicity often share the same designation−French for the French, Italian for the Italians, and English for the English" (García, 2010, p. 520) and in the case of my study, it is Javanese language for the Javanese people. The above elaboration also confirms the important role of language for the identity because language contains rich information about who we are. Although language is not the only factor defining our identity, language is unquestionnably an important identity marker. Language serves as a means of communication, a

representation of the world−to signify things using words, and a medium to express our emotions and feelings.

The second part of the framework, nationalist discourse of indigeneity, becomes the primary factor that makes this dissertation different from other Indigenous language shift and language maintenance researches, which generally applied the global concept of indigeneity posited by international organization such as United Nations and World Bank. On the basis of this framework, I pointed out the fact that in Indonesia Indigenous people have a more privileged sociopolitical position than the non-Indigenous ones who become the subject of marginalization. Furthermore, the Indigenous people are numerically the majority and in fact, almost everyone is Indigenous. With regard to the Javanese, this ethnic group is numerically the biggest and sociopolitically influential. Thus, to use the global discourse of indigeneity for the case of Javanese ethnic group is not appropriate since the position of the Javanese is strikingly different from that of the Indigenous people in other areas of the world. In brief, the discourse and reality of oppression and minoritization is relatively irrelevant in the context of Indonesia.

The final part of the framework, critical ethnography of language planning and policy (LPP) offers a holistic approach to analyze changing language loyalty within the contemporary Javanese society enabling me to examine the micro (family), meso (schools), and macro (national language policy) levels. In other words, it seeks to understand LPP at personal, institutional, and national layers (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In addition, this framework also highlights the importance of the insider's perspective to understand a community. My role as an insider-researcher made it possible to minimize misinterpretations of the phenomena found in the field.

In this chapter, I also critically reviewed LPP development and previous studies on language shift and language maintenance. The first part of the literature review explained the three periods of LPP theory development: 1950s to 1960s, 1970s to 1980s, and mid 1980s to today. The first period focuses on the macro-sociopolitical factors of the post World War II, especially the transformation of the newly born nation from a colonial polity to an independent nation. This period is mainly characterized by the framework of unification. Scholars especially the West European sociolinguists posited that for the sake of successful nation building, ethnic and cultural as well as linguistic unity were the primary conditions for the people of a political statehood (Ricento, 2000). In the second period, scholars realized that approaches widely used in the early days of LPP failed to acknowledge the sociohistorical and political context of the people and regions being studied. Finally, the third phase of LPP taking place in the mid 1980s to today put emphasis on the relationships among language, power, and inequality (McCarty, 2011; Ricento, 2000). The conceptual framework of this phase is highly influenced by the globalization of capitalism and transnational movement which have caused massive migrations, the creation of imagined community, reconstruction of group identity, and the competition between "regional languages" and "supranational languages" (Ricento, 2000, p.16).

In the next section of the literature review, I elaborated language shift and language maintenance phenomena across the globe and highlighted factors causing people to shift away from their native language or to maintain it which include (1) economic, (2) social, (3) political, (4) demographic, and (5) attitudinal. Economic factors refer to the control of language over the economic aspect of the community while social

status indicates the social value of a language. When a language is perceived socially valuable, its speakers will make efforts to maintain it. Another factor triggering the shift is politics which can be seen in the case of Oberwart, Austria (Gal, 1979). Before the First World War, Oberwart was a part of the Hungarian territory and appointed Hungarian as the official language (Gal, 1979). However, people dramatically shifted from Hungarian to German, the official language of Austria, after the Second World War when Austria took over Oberwart (Gal, 1979). The next factor, demographic, indicates the distribution of the language as well as the speakers of the language. According to Giles (1977), the native language will be better maintained if its speakers live in a concentration area far from other languages community. However, in this era of globalization, the advantage of living in isolated areas in relation to language maitanance needs to be further examined. Lastly, attitudes towards the language also contributes to language shift and language maintenance.

Besides the above-mentioned factors, language shift and language maintenance are also caused by sociohistorical processes, institutional support, educational attainment, intermarriage, gender, and religion. Sociohistorical status refers to the historical role of a language as a medium to unite members of the community (Giles, 1977), for example, the case of Indonesia. The next factor, institutional support, corresponds with the official support toward a particular language. Educational attainment of speakers of a particular language also contributes to the maintenance or the loss of the native language. The next factor, intermarriage, becomes one of the major factors of language shift in the era of globalization. In this type of family, one of the parents who is the native speaker of a minority language tend to give up their mother tongue. With regards to gender, previous

studies (Mukherjee, 2003; Schecter and Bayley's study, 1997) report that women often play a role as the guardian of their own language and culture including language maintainer. However, women may also became double agents as reported by Medicine (1987) and Zentella (1987). This means that women are required to not only pass on their native language and culture to their children but also to introduce the language and culture of the dominant group to their offsprings. Finally, loyalty to their religions is another factor to maintain the language. For example, the Muslim immigrants in the United States and in Europe have positive attitude towards Arabic because it represents their religious identity.

The elaborations on the three-part theoretical framework and the scholarly literature of this dissertation show that the intellectual merit of this study is two fold. First, it will contribute to the development of a new framework in the Indigenous language research. While other Indigenous language studies emphasize the discourses of oppression and marginalization faced by the Indigenous people as a result of the colonial's legacy, this study does not apply such approaches because the Indigenous people in Indonesia, especially the Javanese ethnic group, are numerically dominant and sociopolitically priviledged. Therefore, this study offers a nationalist discourse of indigeneity framework for the context of Indonesia. Second, previous studies on Javanese language and society do not incorporate the three layers of the society−micro, meso, macro−to examine Javanese language and identity in their analysis. As a result, a deep yet holistic picture of the current situation within Javanese society cannot be captured. Therefore, this study will uniquely fill this void in the literature. In the next chapter, I will explain the research design and the methodology of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will present research design and methodology of this study. First, I will begin with the rational underlying the use of qualitative approach, specifically ethnography, for this study. Second, I will describe the research site, Yogyakarta, and elaborate its sociohistorical context especially its important position in the political landscape of Indonesia and its role as the center of Javanese culture. Then, I will describe the specific location of the fieldwork which includes two villages and two middle schools. Next, I will explain the selection process to recruit participants. Then, I will discuss data collection method and data analysis of this study. I will end this chapter with the description of the limitation of this study.

Research Design

By taking into account the research questions of this study−namely (1) How do the Javanese people perceive what it means to be a Javanese?, (2) In what ways, if at all, does Javanese language play a role in the construction and affirmation of the Javanese identity?, (3) How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the language ideology of Javanese speakers?, (4) How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the maintenance of Javanese language?, and (4) What is the relationship, if any, between Javanese language shift and larger transformations in contemporary Javanese society?−qualitative research design, specifically ethnographic, is deemed suitable for this study because these research questions require attentive listening to people's voices, deep exploration of people's life experience, and keen observation on the field to deliver accurate answers.

Although ethnography is often associated only as observational research in a particular setting, it comprises deeper meaning than merely observing and participating in daily activities of the participants Brewer (2000).

> Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring setting or 'fields' by method of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also in the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally. (Brewer, 2000, p. 6)

Thus, ethnography involves an observation of real-life situation in order to seek the meaning from the perspective of the participant by dealing with all aspects of the participants' life, such as cultural, social, and psychological backgrounds (Neergaard & Ulhøi, 2007). Ethnography also attempts to conduct a holistic study to obtain complete picture of a particular group in a particular setting, so that it needs multiple methods to ensure that the ethnographer captures all perspectives (Fettermen, 1998). Since this study is an in-depth investigation of the Javanese people while at the same time incorporates the micro, meso, macro layers analysis of the society, ethnography is deemed appropriate for this study.

Research Site

This ethnographic study was conducted in *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (Special Territory of Yogyakarta), generally known as Yogyakarta, a special administrative province located in the southern-central part of Java island, Indonesia. In this study, I did not assign a pseudonym for Yogyakarta because this province is regarded as the center of Javanese culture and has an important sociohistorical and political position in Indonesia.

It is therefore necessary to clearly present this background to provide strong arguments on why this study was carried out in this province. Moreover, previous ethnographic studies conducted in Yogyakarta (Berman, 1998; Smith-Hefner, 2009) also disclose the identity of Yogyakarta for a similar reason.

Compared to Jakarta which is the home to more than 10 millions residents (Kotkin & Cox, 2013), Yogyakarta is a less populous region with roughly 3.5 millions inhabitants (Department of Health of Yogyakarta, 2013). This province is divided into four regencies and one municipality. Unlike other provinces in Indonesia, the position of Governor and Vice Governor of Yogyakarta is hereditary due to its special status. Thus, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, is automatically appointed as the Governor of the province while the Vice Governor is occupied by Sri Pakualam IX, the king of Pakualaman, a small hereditary royal territory within the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The province earned its special status during the Ducth and the Japanese colonisations. During the Dutch occupation, other regions in Indonesia were considered as non-state territory; therefore, the day-to-day state affairs and full authority were held by the colonial government. In contrast, the status of Yogyakarta was a dependent state which allowed the Sultanate of Yogyakarta to have the authority to govern the region under the supervision of the Dutch colonial government (Dinas Pendidikan, Pemuda, dan Olah Raga Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta [DISPORA DIY], 2009). The dependent state status was maintained when the Japanese occupied Indonesia during the World War II. After the independence, the First President of Indonesia, Sukarno, formally secured the

special status of Yogyakarta by issuing *Maklumat Amanat 5 September 1945* or The Presidential Declaration 5 September 1945 (DISPORA DIY, 2009).

During the independence period, specifically in 1998, there was a political transition resulting to the resignation of the Second President of Indonesia, Suharto, who had been in power for 32 years (Foulcher, 2000). The year 1998 marked the emergence of the "new" Indonesia which was expected to be more democratic, the Reformation era (Foulcher, 2000). As a result of the new era, the constitution of Indonesia (namely *Undang-Undang Dasar* 1945/UUD 1945 or The Constitution 1945) was altered to adapt to the spirit of Reformation. After the amendment of the constitution, one article in UUD 1945 had particularly affected the special status of Yogyakarta.

Pasal 18

(4) Gubernur, Bupati, dan Walikota masing-masing sebagai kepala pemerintah daerah provinsi, kabupaten dan kota dipilih secara demokratis.

Article 18

(4) Governor, *Bupati*, and Mayor, as the head of provincial government, regency and municipality respectively is elected in a democratic manner.

Pasal 18B

(1) Negara mengakui dan menghormati satuan-satuan pemerintahan daerah yang bersifat khusus atau bersifat istimewa yang diatur dengan undang-undang.

Article 18B

(1) The state acknowledges and respects each special region with special status which is stipulated by the decree.

Since there was no decree to re-stipulate the status of Yogyakarta as a special region, the Ministry of Internal Affairs appointed a team of experts from the Political Science Program, *Universitas Gadjah Mada*, Yogyakarta to prepare the bill constituting the criteria of special region and its consequences in early 2007 (Humas UGM, 2007; Lay et al., 2008). During the preparation of the bill, the team incorporated opinions and feedbacks from *Keraton*/the Palace, academia (political science experts from *Universitas Gadjah Mada*, Yogyakarta) and members of the house of representative (Attamami & Pranyoto, 2011).

Then, the manuscript of the bill was sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs to be handed in to the Department of State and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights which would further examine it (Detiknews, 2010a; Liputan 6, 2010; Saifullah, 2010; Wardhana, 2013). However, it took several years to pass the bill due to the disagreement between the central government of Indonesia and the provincial government of Yogyakarta, specifically concerning the role of *Keraton* in the day-to-day provincial affairs and the hereditary policy for the positions of Governor and Vice Governor (Bambang, 2010; Nugroho, 2010; Puji, 2010a; Puji, 2010b).

The issue had created tensed relationship between the two parties and was worsened when the President of Indonesia at that time, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, during the presidential cabinet meeting on 26 November 2010 stated that the existence of monarchy within the democratic state like Indonesia did not allign with the democratic value (Amri & Galih, 2010; Detiknews, 2010b; Liputan 6, 2010; Wardhana, 2013). In other words, the president questioned the special status of Yogyakarta and at the same

time supported a public election for the position of Governor and Vice Governor as opposed to automatically applying the hereditary policy based on the monarchy system.

In response to that statement, people coming from various socioeconomic and educational backgrounds in Yogyakarta expressed their discontent by organizing protests in several ways such as carrying out mass mobilisation, performing Javanese traditional dances, music, and plays, public oration, or simply putting billboard signs in support of *Keraton* and the maintenance of the special status. In addition, local newspapers frequently wrote articles which would gear readers' opinion toward the formalisation of the special status.

The persistence to maintain the special status along with its rights was triggered by the contribution of Yogyakarta especially *Keraton* in the establishment of Indonesia as an independent nation. In 1946, Yogyakarta was chosen as the temporary capital city of Indonesia and the center of independence movement because it was perceived more safe than the capital city, Jakarta, which became the target of military attacks (Mardani, 2013; Yuliningsih & Puji, 2011). Jakarta was also not a safe place for the President and the Vice President of Indonesia, Sukarno and Hatta, because the Dutch had made several attempts to assassinate the two leaders (Mardani, 2013; Yuliningsih & Puji, 2011). Moreover, Yogyakarta had sufficient facilities and financial resources for the Indonesian government to run their day to day activities (Mardani, 2013; Yuliningsih & Puji, 2011).

During the time when Yogyakarta became the capital city, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwana IX who was the late Sultan of Yogyakarta and one of the founding fathers of Indonesia, used the financial asset of *Keraton* to cover the operating expenses of the Indonesian government which at that time had nothing. In 17 December 1949, Sri Sultan

Hamengku Buwana IX gave his last six million Gulden (the old Dutch currency) to President Sukarno (Mardani, 2013; Yuliningsih & Puji, 2011). In recognition of Yogyakarta as the center of the independence movement and the Sultan's (or *Keraton*) generous contribution during this difficult time, Yogyakarta was granted a special status. As a result, the Sultan and his successors automatically occupy the position of Governor while Sri Pakualam and his inheritors will be the Vice Governor on the basis of hereditary policy (Badan Pengawasan Keuangan dan Pembangunan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta [BPKP DIY], n.d., .Nugroho, 2010).

Because of this historical background, the supporters of the special status maintenance accused the Indonesian government of being disrespectful and ignorant toward the contribution of Yogyakarta for the establishment of Indonesia (BPKP DIY, n.d.; Nugroho, 2010). The following excerpt from the speech delivered by the Rector of *Universitas Gadjah Mad*a, Yogyakarta, in Culture Night event in 22 October 2012 which was a part of the "Art and Culture Week Event" clearly stated the important position of Yogyakarta in Indonesia (Pratikno, 2012):

> *Bukan Jogja sebagai sebuah space fisik yang bisa digambarkan di dalam peta wilayah tetapi bagi saya Jogja di sini menggambarkan konsep yang abstrak. Konsep yang menggambarkan nilai luhur, menggambarkan nilai kebudayaan, menggambarkan nilai perjuangan, cara hidup, cara berpikir, dan cara kita bergaul dengan sesama. Jogja bukan semata-mata digambarkan sebagai sebuah wilayah dengan luas tertentu tetapi Jogja adalah sebuah tata nilai dengan karakternya sendiri. Mengapa saya katakan begini? Karena ketika orang berbicara tentang Jogja, dia tidak semata-mata membayangkan sebuah ruang*

fisik. Tetapi Jogja sebuah tata nilai, Jogja yang menjadi simpul keindonesiaan. Jogja yang telah menjadi inspirasi bagi pendirian dan (inaudible) *kemerdekaan Indonesia*.

It is not Jogja* as a physical space which is drawn in a territorial map; but for me, Jogja is an abstract concept depicting a supreme value, culture, struggle, ways of life, ways of thinking, and ways we interact with each other. Jogja does not simply mean a particular geographical area with a particular dimension but Jogja is a value system possessing its own characters. Why do I say this? Because whenever a person talks about Jogja, they do not only imagine a physical space but also a value system, Jogja which becomes the tying knot for Indonesianess; Jogja which has inspired the establishment and *(inaudible)* the independence of Indonesia.

*) Jogja is the popular short version of Yogyakarta.

Figure 3. Demonstration to support the special status of Yogyakarta (Retrieved from http://cimg.antaranews.com/jogja/2012/03/ori/20120328penetapan2.jpg)

Figure 4. Demonstration in the landmark of Yogyakarta, *Tugu*/the Monument (Retrieved http://img.antaranews.com/new/2012/08/ori/2012083014.jpg)

Another reason presented by the supporters was that carrying out the so called democratic election was tremendously costly (Wardhana, 2010; Wardopo, 2010). The fact that Indonesia had been experiencing economic difficulties since the beginning of the Reformation era in 1998 should become the major consideration not to waste money on the governor election; instead the money should be allocated to improve public services Wardhana, 2010; Wardopo, 2010). Furthermore, the election itself was prone to corruption, especially vote-buying (Butt, 2013; Ellis, 2012; Martinez-Bravo, 2013). Moreover, such election could not guarantee that the leaders elected would not commit corruption. Indeed, during my ethnographic fieldwork, mass media frequently reported about government officials who were elected through public election engaged in corruption acts. It is widely known that they often had to use their personal financial

resources to cover all expenses during the campaign which would cost a significant amount of their fortune. Therefore, the corruptions they commited arguably were ways to get their money back. In contrast, if the Governor of Yogyakarta was chosen on the basis of hereditary policy, it would be financially wise because the King of Yogyakarta had so far proved to public his trustworthiness and capability (Wardhana, 2010; Wardopo, 2010). On the basis of those arguments, the supporters pushed the government to pass the bill immediately.

The government, on the other hand, perceived that fundamental changes were necessary for Yogyakarta. The position of Governor and the Vice Governor must be open for all Indonesians regardless of their background, whether royalty or non-royalty, whether Javanese or non-Javanese. In short, everyone has an equal right to be the Governor and the vice governor of Yogyakarta in this democratic nation (Amri & Galih, 2010; Detiknews, 2010b; Liputan 6, 2010; Wardhana, 2013). In addition, the fact that Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X and Sri Pakualam IX were active members of a particular political party would threaten their ability to prioritize people's interests over their political party. Therefore, one of the conditions offered by the government was that Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwana X and Sri Pakualam IX gave up their affiliation to a particular political party for good (Detiknews, 2011; Koran SINDO, 2012).

After several years of negotiation, in 30 August 2012, the bill was finally signed by the House of Representatives and it marked the birth of the new law to acknowledge the special status of Yogyakarta, namely *Undang-Undang nomor 13 tahun 2012* (henceforth, UU No. 13/2012) or The Decree number 13 year 2012. This decree mainly stipulates four subjects: (1) The Governor and the Vice Governor of the province are

occupied by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono and Sri Pakualam, (2) The Governor and the Vice governor are not allowed to join any political party, (3) The Sultanate of Yogyakarta are treated as legal entities that have the rights to own lands which include *Tanah Keprabon* (lands owned by the Sultanate which are used by and for the royal family's needs, for example: the palace, the royal cemetery, the Grand Mosque) and *Tanah Bukan Keprabon* (lands owned by the Sultanate which are used for public services, for example: local forests, campus, hospital, housing complex) located in all regencies and the municipality in the province of Yogyakarta. The Sultanate of Yogyakarta have the authority to use the land for the cultivation of the Javanese culture, public services, and societal prosperity, (4) The government of Indonesia allocates a specific funding for the provincial government to carry out the operational activities.

In October 10th, 2012, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and Sri Pakualam took an oath before the President of Indonesia during the inauguration day which took place in *Garuda* room, *Gedung Agung* (the Indonesian presidential palace located in Yogyakarta) (Wicaksono, 2012). In other provinces in Indonesia, it is the Minister of Internal Affairs who inaugurates the governor and vice governor. However, due to the decree of the special status of Yogyakarta especially article 27, it is the President who is mandated to do so. Therefore, that day was perceived as a historical landmark signifying the position of Yogyakarta and *Keraton* in Indonesia.

In the morning around 9 am, I passed Malioboro, the main district in downtown Yogyakarta, to see how people celebrated it. I was surprised that the street was empty; only few vehicles passed; no street sellers were present while usually there are around 2,500 street sellers and hawkers do their business and only a few shops opened (Safri,

2012). There were some security guards who were busy preparing a stage and installing a giant TV screen to keep people up-to-date with the inauguration ceremony. I asked one of them why Malioboro was so quiet. He explained to me that everyone was preparing for the celebration of the inauguration later this afternoon where the people of Yogyakarta voluntarily provided *tumpeng* (a mountain-shape rice dish with side dishes which is usually served for a special occasion) to be enjoyed by everyone in Malioboro.

After spending sometime in Malioboro, I took off to the south part of Malioboro where *Gedung Agung* (Grand Building) was located. There were already hundreds of people including some TV crews waiting outside the building to witness the inauguration. When the official cars carrying Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and Sri Pakualam IX left *Gedung Agung,* people started to cheer and gave big applause to their leaders. Later that night, when I watched the local TV news, I learned that thousands of people gathered in the hall of *Keraton* to welcome their leaders. They sang along with a local rap group, Jogja Hip Hop Foundation whose song, *Jogja Istimewa* 'Jogja (Is) Special', became widely known during the conflict between the central and provincial governments. Not only did the lyrics contain persuasive statements regarding the special characters of Yogyakarta, it also had another feature that made it so Yogyakarta: most of its lyrics used Javanese language.

Examining the historical and political facts of Yogyakarta including the persistence of the people and *Keraton* to maintain its special status showed that they were proud of their culture, history, and most importantly Javanese identity. The expression of pride could be seen through the emphasis on visible identity markers, such as clothing, language, and traditional performing arts during the demonstration. Because of this

reason, I intentionally began this chapter with a historical and political overview of Yogyakarta and the conflict related to the special status to argue that Yogyakarta is the best location for my study.

Another reason why I chose this province is that Yogyakarta, along with its neighboring region, Solo, is considered as the center of Javanese culture (Errington, 1991, Smith-Hefner, 2009). As the center of Javanese culture: "residents of the city were once known throughout Indonesia for their refined speech and polished social comportment" (Koentjoroningrat, 1985; Mulder, 1996, as cited in Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 57). Furthermore, the Javanese language of Yogyakarta (along with another region, Surakarta) becomes the standard Javanese language for all Javanese speakers (Errington, 1991; Siegel, 1986; Smith-Hefner, 2009).

Gemah and Ripah

I selected two villages for the location of my fieldwork: Gemah and Ripah (pseudonyms). To maintain their confidentiality, I assigned pseudonyms for these villages. I do find it necessary to hide their real name as this would risk to disclosing my participants' identity. The primary reason of choosing both villages is that I am considered an insider in both locations. Gemah is a familiar place for me because my maternal grandmother is originally from Gemah. Therefore, I have many relatives who live there including my uncles and their families. I also grew up and spent most of my childhood there in this village. In the early 1990s my family moved to Ripah and to this day my parents and younger siblings live in Ripah. Although since 2007 I moved to Bandung, West Java to work, I regularly return to my parents' home in Ripah. Because of my position as an insider, I did not find any difficulty to recruit villagers to be my

participants, to find key informants who provided me with rich information about the village and its inhabitants, and to do participant observations.

Gemah village, located in Tirta (pseudonym) regency, is situated roughly around 15 miles from the city center. The village has a homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity, religion, educational background, and professions of its inhabitants. In contrast, Ripah, situated in Arga (pseudonym) regency, is ethnically more heterogeneous than Gemah. The profession of its residents is varied while at the same time they also have higher educational attaintment. I intentionally selected two sites which have distincts characters to reveal how the Javanese people in these different settings viewed their language and identity. More comprehensive ethnographic reports of the two villages can be found in chapter 4.

I started the fieldwork in Ripah in the first week of June 2012 and completed it at the end of November 2012 while in Gemah I began my research in the first week of July 2012 and ended it in mid December 2012. In total, I spent six months in Ripah and 5.5 months in Gemah. I started later in Gemah because to secure a letter of permission to do research in Tirta regency required longer process than in Arga regency. Even though the duration of my fieldwork in Gemah is slightly shorter than in Ripah, I made sure that I had accomplished the goal of the day for each day of my observation.

Table 3 shows that I divided my time equally for both locations, three days a week in Gemah and three days a week in Ripah for the first three months. Then, in the fourth and fifth months, I observed twice a week for each village. In the last fifteen days of my fieldwork in Gemah and Ripah, I spent the two weekends to ask for confirmation of some issues that were not clear from in-depth interviews and from observations. It is

important to note that I never stayed overnight in Gemah. Everytime I completed my activity for the day, I went back home and returned to the field in the following day. I also arranged my fieldwork in a certain way so I could spend weekdays and weekend and the daytime and night time in both villages. This way enabled me to see the daily routine of all villagers in weekdays and in weekends, during the day time and the night time.

Table 3

Schedule of Fieldworks in Gemah and Ripah

	Gemah Village	Ripah Village
First Month	-Monday-Wednesday -Day time	-Friday-Sunday -Day time
Second Month	-Friday-Sunday -Day time	-Monday-Wednesday -Day time
Third Month	-Monday-Wednesday -Night time	-Friday-Sunday -Night time
Fourth Month	-Saturday-Sunday -Night time	-Monday-Tuesday -Night time
Fifth Month	-Every Saturday -Time is varied depends on my availability.	-Every Sunday -Time is varied depends on my availability.
Sixth Month	Week 21st and 22nd: Use the two weekends to ask for confirmation/clarification	Week 21st and 22nd: -Every Sunday -Time is varied depends on my availability. Week 23rd and 24th: Use the two weekends to ask for confirmation/clarification

Figure 5. Paddy field in Gemah Village (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 6. Paddy field located behind tall buildings in Ripah Village (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 7. Shopping and culinary centers in Ripah Village (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 8. A gas station in Ripah Village (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

South School and North School

To investigate the maintenance of Javanese language and culture at the meso level, I conducted observations in two middle schools and interviewed with their Javanese language teachers. The two schools were selected because I aimed at examining whether findings in each village would mirror findings in each school because of the proximity between the school and the village which lead some young villagers to study in South School and North School respectively.

I called the first school as South School as it is located on the south of Gemah. Likewise, I named the second school as North school because it situated on the north of Ripah. North School is located 0.5 mile from Ripah while South school is located around 1 mile from Gemah.

Figure 9. The hallway in South School with a special path for disabled students (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 10. The basketball field in South School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 11. The entrance gate of South School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 12. The hallway of North School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 13. The basketball field in North School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 14. The entrance gate of North School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Observations in both schools were carried out for one month; three times a week and each time it took about three hours excluding the time to interview the teachers. The total amount of time for observing North School is 30 hours whereas in South School, I spent 38 hours for observation−8 hours longer than in North School because the number of classes in South School is higher.

Additional Research Sites

In addition to observing two villages and two midle schools, I also explore traditional and modern markets in Tirta, Arga, and the city of Yogyakarta to examine the visual existence of Javanese language in public domain. With the same objective, I also observed the iconic district of Yogyakarta, Malioboro, where modern shopping malls and historical sites are met. Moreover, I attended a cultural event "Art and Culture Week" held by *Universitas Gadjah Mada* to collect additional data about Yogyakarta as the

center of Javanese culture. In addition, I collected data about the position of Javanese language in the world of literacy by examining the archival data of *Kembang Arum* magazine. Lastly, I did a one-time observation in a religious group monthly meeting led by Syafi'i (pseudonym), an influential figure behind the religious transformation of Gemah's residents.

Participants

Recruitments

I recruited my participants using a non-probability purposive sampling because it works well for labor-intensive and in-depth studies (Bernard, 2011). I already had a plan before going to the field that I would recruit a family (in each village) who had lived in Gemah or Ripah for at least three generations to see the intergenerational journey of Javanese language and identity in the home domain. In Gemah, my primary participants consist of first, second, and third generations but in Ripah I could not find a family which has a complete set of three generations who could participate in my study. To overcome this problem, I specifically recruited a family who has been living for at least three generation in Ripah although it did not necessarily that each generation has a representative.

To recruit the Javanese language teachers in both schools, I came to the school to see the School Principal in person. Because I had already had a letter of permission to conduct a research from the local government of Tirta and Arga regencies, I did not find any difficulty to receive an approval from the School Principal. Specifically, I was a former a student of North School and the majority of my former teachers, including the Javanese language teacher, still teach there. As a result, everyone was always ready to

help me during the observation period. Although I was a complete outsider in South School, my participants (two Javanese language teachers), the School Principal, other teachers, and non-academic staffs were also helpful.

The last primary participant, a representative of the elite, was invited to participate in my research due to his reputation of being active in the maintenance of Javanese language and culture. Unlike other primary participants who I had the opportunity to observe their day-today activity, he had a tight schedule so I could only interview him one time. Nonetheless, his insights are significant to complete the holistic picture of the Javanese society.

The total number of all participants were 17 people and they were divided into two categories, namely (1) primary participants and (2) supporting participants. The primary participants were those who shared their life story related to their Javanese identity. They consisted of five villagers (two coming from Ripah village while three were from Gemah village), four Javanese language teachers (two from South School and two from North School), and one member of the elite group. The supporting participants were included to provide additional information about Javanese language and identity.The first supporting participant is a key informant in *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper. Other supporting participants were key informants in Gemah and Ripah, and one religious leader. The complete list of participants can be found in Table 4.

Table 4

Participants

Category	Details		
	Name	Location	Additional Information
Primary Participants	1. Asminah	South Village	Representing first generation
	2. Hartono	South Village	Representing second generation
	3. Sadewa	South Village	Representing third generation
	4. Agung	North Village	Representing second generation
	5. Aditya	North Village	Representing third generation
	6. Hastuti	South School	Javanese language teacher
	7. Suharti	South School	Javanese language teacher
	8. Nindya	North Village	Javanese language pre-service teacher
	9. Rahman	North Village	Javanese language pre-service teacher
	10. Bayu	His residence	A member of the elite
Supporting Participants	1. Budi	South Village	A key informant in South Village
	2. Supardi	North Village	A key informant in North Village
	3. Sumarto	South Village	A key informant in South Village
	4. Ratna	South Village	A key informant in South Village
	5. Agung	South Village	A key informant in South Village
	6. Sumardi	His office	A key informant in *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper
	7. Syafi'i	His home	A religious leader

Ethical Considerations

To protect the participants' anonymity, all the names used here are pseudonyms. To obtain consent, I provided the participants with verbal and written information about the background, the objectives, and the procedures of the study. I gave them sufficient time to consider their options and ask questions about the study before making a decision. The participants were also informed orally and in writing that no penalty or loss of benefit incurred should they chose not to participate. Then, they signed the consent form after I verbally explained the purpose and the procedures involved in the study, answered

any questions, and provided any additional information. All participants were provided with a copy of the complete document for their records.

With participants' permission, the interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed using verbatim transcription. Because audio-digital voices could be easily identified, complete confidentiality could not be assured. To minimize the risk, any information that might compromise confidentiality was excluded from written transcripts. Moreover, to maintain confidentiality all the names used in this study are pseudonyms. Lastly, apart from the approval from the Internal Review Board Arizona State University (IRB Protocol number: 1207007985), I had also secured official permissions from the Governor of the Special Territory of Yogyakarta and the authorities of both Bantul and Sleman regencies for all my research activities.

Data Collection Method

In this ethnographic study, I followed Fetterman's (1998) suggestion to conducting an ethnographic research. According to Fetterman (1998), since ethnography attempts to carry out a holistic study in order to obtain complete picture of a particular group in a particular setting, it needs multiple methods to achieve that goal. With respect to the use of multiple methods, in this study I used three techniques: (1) Participant-observation, (2) Interviews, which include informal interviews and formal interviews (semi-structured interviewing), (3) School/Clssroom Observation, and (4) Picture Taking.

Participant Observation

Fetterman (1998) suggests that participant observation should be done at least for six months to one year so that the ethnographer will grasp the lives of the community, understand the pattern of behavior, and also to learn the language."Long-term residence

helps the researcher to internalize the basic beliefs, fears, and hopes, and expectations of the people under study" (Fettermen, 1998, p. 35). For this study, I did a six-month fieldwork and played a role as an insider-researcher. Thus, over the course of six months, I blended in into the life of Gemah and Ripah villages, for instance: joining some villagers of Gemah to attend a religious event organized by an important religious leader, Syafi'i.

My position as an insider as well as a researcher had given me some advantages. Not only did I gain easy access to the field, I also have common background with the participant anc cultural competence to understand the phenomena found on the field even though being an insider may also lead to lacking of objectivity (Fetterman, 1998). I am completely aware of this risk; therefore, I never perceived myself as a complete insider as my researcher role actually equals to an outsider since I always required to maintain my critical thinking. Another advantage of the insider's perspective is that it would help an ethnographer "to understand why members of the social group do what they do" (Fetterman, 1998, p. 20). "This shared experience with the study participants—language shift in my own life— established that I was involved in the Hopi social world […]. And, as a researcher in my own community, I was also epistemologically privileged" (Nicholas, 2009, p. 325).

In-Depth Interviews

There are two types of interviews I used−namely informal and formal interviews. The former is characterized by its lacking of total control and structure. According to Bernard (2011): "Informal interviewing is the method of choice at the beginning of participant observation fieldwork. It is also used throughout ethnographic fieldwork to

build greater rapport and to uncover new topics of interest that might have overlooked" (Bernard, 2011, p. 157). I used this technique because it was impossible to gather information merely using formal interviews throughout the fieldwork. Furthermore, Bernard (2011) states that informal interview is so natural that people will be more open to talk since there was no recording equipment present. Also, it is common to accidentally come across with important events. All in all, this technique yields rich data; however it requires the ability to remember the conversations.

The next one, semi-structured interview, employed Seidman's model (2007) of the in-depth tripartite phenomenological interview, namely focused-life history, details of experience, and reflection on meaning. According to Seidman, this type of interview provides an avenue to gain thick and rich descriptions of the participants. By using Seidman's model, I drew an ethnographic portrait of each primary participant to interpret their perspectives and experiences as a Javanese and to document their voices and their visions about their native language and culture.

In the first part of the interview, I focus on participants' history that constructed their Javanese identity. I encouraged the participants to tell about their background which incude their family background, educational background, and their past and current linguistic repertoires. The second interview, which focused on the details of experiences, aims at discovering participants' daily activities and language ideology. The third part of the interview is employed for reflection on meaning to understand their voices manifested through their day-to-day linguistic and cultural practices. The interview protocol can be found in appendix D. Most of the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, some used both Indonesian and Javanese; thus these involved a lot of code switching. Only the

interviews with the elderly participant used Javanese entirely, especially *Ngoko* while the interviews with the Javanese language teachers used the formal Javanese, *Krama*.

School/Classroom Observation

I conducted observation in South School and North School for one month to unravel how LPP mechanism is implemented in Javanese language classes. My role during the observation was a pure observer. I spent one month observing Javanese language class and linguistic repertoires of the students and the teachers outside the classroom. I also examine pedagogical practices inside and outside the school especially the dissemination of religious messages in the school day-to-day activity which, the data later will show, to some degree have influenced Javanese language teaching.

Picture Taking

To reveal the visual position of Javanese language in public domains, I took pictures in the two middle schools, two traditional market, and one modern market. I also collected the visual data in the most iconic district of Yogyakarta, Malioboro, to find out whether Javanese language is visually still evident here. It is important to know the visual existence of Javanese in public domains because this arguably will show the attitude of the Javanese people in general toward their language.

Data Analysis

I started the data analysis with the analysis of field notes, classroom observation notes (my interaction with the Javanese language teachers inside and outside classes, all teachers and administrators, and students), site documents (demographic data of the villages, schools' documents about the background of the students, Javanese language class textbooks, syllabus, *Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran* (henceforth RPP) or

Learning Implementation Plan, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic Indonesia, the Youth Oath, the Ministerial Decree no. 20/2003, the Ministerial Decree no. 19/2005, the Ministerial Decree no. 24/2009, and the Decree of the Governor of Yogyakarta no. 64/2013). Examining these documents allowed me to provide information about top-down language planning and policy and its current pedagogical implications. This information served as supporting data to complement the data collected through participant observation, classroom and school observation, and interviews.

Interview transcripts (which all were transcribed verbatim) and field notes were analyzed by employing a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses on the content of the data or what is being said not how the participants say it; because of that, the emphasis is on the meaning of the story not on the language per-se (Riessman, 2000). To analyze the data using thematic method, a researcher must see the themes or patterns of the data, encode and interpret them (Boyatzis, 1998). He further posits four stages in doing thematic analysis as follows (p. 11):

1. *Sensing themes*—that is, recognizing the codable moment;
2. *Doing it reliably*—that is, recognizing the codable moment and encoding it consistently;
3. *Developing codes;*
4. *Interpreting the information and themes in the context of a theory or conceptual framework*—that is, contributing to the development of knowledge.

To code reliably and to develop the code, I followed two-cycle-coding process strategy suggested by Saldaña's (2013). In the first cycle, I used In Vivo-*Coding* which

means I used word or phrases "from the actual language found in the qualitative data record" or "the term used by the participants themselves" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 91). In Vivo-*Coding* is relevant for this study because for the interview I used a language other than English. To be able to accurately capture the participants' voices, I must use their own language. For example, when a participant indicates that a Javanese person who lost his Javanese identity has no memory of Javanese stored in their body. He used the term *"memori tubuh"* or body memory when he explained about it. So, in the first cycle, I wrote "memori tubuh" as a code. After I completed the first cycle of coding, I moved to the second cycle−namely, pattern coding. In this stage, I see the pattern emerging from the first cycle coding and cluster the same pattern into one theme. I used English to name each theme. Finally, after I gathered all the themes, I started the data analysis by interpreting the themes on the basis of the theoretical framework of this study.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the research design and the methodology of this study which include data collection technique and analysis. In this chapter I also pointed out the rational of using qualitative research method, specifically ethnography. The primary reason to employ ethnography is that the research questions of this study require me to find deeper understanding of the participants' voices in order to accurately interpret their voices. To enable me to do the interpretative analysis, I relied on two cycle of coding process which include *In Vivo*-Coding and pattern coding. In the next chapter, I will elaborate the findings of this study, specifically the voices of the participants at the micro layer, especially the voices of the villagers.

CHAPTER 4

JAVANESE LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AT THE MICRO LEVEL: VOICES OF THE VILLAGERS

In this chapter, I will elaborate the findings of the micro layer, especially the voices of the villagers, in order to understand how language planning and policy (LPP) is reflected in everyday practices. I have divided my analysis of the micro level into two separate chapters: chapter 4 is devoted to examining the villagers' voices, while chapter 5 focuses on the voices of the teachers and the elite. The decision to split the discussion into two parts is due to the participants' different background. Although these villagers have the tacit and emic knowledge of Javanese language and culture, they have limited knowledge of and involvement in formal language planning and policy making activities. In contrast, the teachers and the elite have scholarly or etic knoweldge of Javanese language and culture. Therefore, this chapter aims at finding out how the Javanese people whose roles in everyday life are not related to the formal/official promotion of Javanese language and culture perceive a Javanese identity and Javanese language maintenance. In this chapter, I will also incorporate the data I collected from the supporting participants (i.e., five key informants) to provide demographic information and current issues related to Javanese language and culture in the two villages.

I will begin this chapter with descriptions of the villages of Gemah and Ripah, including daily life in the village and the educational background of the residents. Educational background is important information because it is known as one of the factors which influences language shift or language maintenance. Next, I will present the linguistic repertoire for everyday communication and current issues in both villages.

Then, I will thoroughly explain the participants' ethnographic background. After that, I will examine their voices on the basis of the themes emerging from the data, which include linguistic repertoires, being a Javanese, and language attitude and ambivalence.

Gemah Village

Gemah is a familiar place for me because I grew up in this village. Most of my maternal relatives, including my grandmother, uncles, aunts, and some distant relatives, still live here. On the first day of my fieldwork, I used the opportunity to go around the village by motorcycle to take some pictures and to meet with some old neighbors to see how much things had changed since my family left in the beginning of 1990. I often come here to see my relatives, and frankly I do not see any significant changes in the village. I realize that this opinion is strongly influenced by my familiarity with the site. Therefore, I tried to "open" my eyes widely and put myself in an outsider's shoes. In short, I would make the familiar unfamiliar. In the following three sub-sections, I will present an elaboration of my ethnographic descriptions of Gemah village.

Life in Gemah Village

When I returned to the village to start my first day of ethnographic fieldwork, it seemed to me that everything in the village was just the same. I still found many coconut trees in the outer parts of the village while an area of paddy fields welcomed me in the west and east. The same families I had been known for years still lived in the same modest houses, most of which had been passed on to the next generations of the family. Three families who owned horses and traditional carts called *andong* also still lived here and had passed on their profession as horse cart drivers to their third generation. I could still recall that in the 1980s and early 1990s it was common for villagers in Gemah to take

a horse cart as a mode of transportation. Its function now has changed to be primarily a tourist attraction, however. Because of this touristic function, having an *andong* has become a better source of income than a means of transportation for its owners.

After spending few days in the field I realized that it was not true that there had been no change. Indeed, as an insider who often comes here I cannot see the changes because I take them for granted, but as a researcher I must be meticulously observant. After reflecting on how this village looked in the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, and until 2012, I knew that there must have been many changes. For instance, the size of the paddy fields in the west part of Gemah has shrunk significantly as most of its area has been transformed into buildings for a small vocational college for aviation services. In addition, a small but luxurious clinic for women can be found close to the village's west gate. But according to one of my key informants, Budi, no villagers go to this private health clinic because its target market is the upper class. Therefore, all of its clients are rich people from the city. I also found that unlike inner village streets which are unpaved, the small street directing the patients to the clinic is nicely paved. I learned from Budi that the owner of the clinic paid for that. There is a small minimarket (similar to Circle K or 7-11 in the US) near the clinic which according to Budi has been present since almost seven years ago. A housing complex consisting of ten modern houses owned by newcomers can also be found in the west part of the village.

I also saw some changes in the east part, although not as much as in the west part probably because the west part is bordered by a major road connecting to the city center, while the east part shares borders with neighboring villages. There are five new houses occupying an area which used to be paddy field. As a result, the area available for

agricultural purposes has diminished, but not as drastically as in the west. I also found that one of the most luxurious house has been rented for the past several years to a South Korean family, owners of a factory in Yogyakarta. Interestingly, in the south part of the village, I can still find a large area of paddy field. There has not been much change in the south part.

Figure 15. An *andong* parked in front of a house in Gemah Village (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

In contrast, the north side has dramatically changed as a result of the opening of the major road in the early 1990s. Houses located on the side of the road are now transformed into business centers such as photocopy and printing centers, automotive service centers, and restaurants. Another change is that a significant area of the paddy field has disappeared and turned into a travel agency and a four-star hotel that belongs to some investors from the city. When I proceeded to the inner parts of the village, I felt like the houses that had been there since I was a child were screaming for immediate

maintenance. However, the majority of the villagers here live so modestly due to their low income that they do not prioritize the maintenance of their dilapidated houses.

Due to the diminishing areas for the paddy field, fewer people are interested in working in agricultural sectors. Those who still maintain agricultural jobs are the old generation who generally do not own the field but simply work as a laborers for rich villagers who inherited the field from their great-grandparents. The number of agricultural workers has decreased because old age prevents them from working hard physically. This situation is a drastic contrast to what I witnessed in the late 1980s. I always saw farmers going together to the field. Some brought along their buffalo or oxen to plough their own paddy field every morning. A few men took their ducks – a lot of ducks – to roam around the paddy field. In the late afternoon, everyone returned home after working hard the whole day.

Throughout my fieldwork, I rarely witnessed this. I could not find any villagers who still own oxen, buffalo, or ducks because the agricultural areas have diminished. Old farmers who used to have their own paddy fields now have to sell them because farming does not bring any financial benefits. The price of fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides keeps rising while the price of rice is constant or sometimes even plummets. Some farmers prefer to work for the rich villagers who still own paddy fields because they will receive a fair share of the crop during the harvest period and do not need to worry about maintenance expenses as everything is covered by the owner. Another change I found was that these labor farmers preferred using tractors to animals to plough the field because tractors are less complicated to take care of.

Members of the young generation prefer non-agricultural jobs such as factory worker, shop attendant, bricklayer, or technician. Some of them also work for the four-star hotel, vocational college, and restaurants. However, they occupy low positions since they are unskilled workers with low educational attainment. Nevertheless, they perceive working in non-agricultural sectors to be better because of its financial security. They do not need to worry about crop failure and can always bring some money home every month.

The vocational college also leads to other sources of income. Villagers who have relatively nicer houses have modified them into boarding houses and rent them to college students. Moreover, three families have opened simple cafeterias and one family runs a small shop providing basic needs for those students. Unfortunately, a couple of years before my fieldwork, there was a conflict related to religious issues between some residents of the neighboring village and a group of students of this college who originated from a particular area in Indonesia. As a result of this incident, the college experienced low admission trend because students from that particular region cancelled their enrollment and moved to another college for fear of their safety and future students coming from the same region were advised not to attend. This to some extent has influenced the local business since the students who cancelled their enrollment made up the majority of the student body in this college.

Although the majority of the villagers have to work hard to make ends meet, they still make time to help each other whenever their neighbors are in need. These activities are generally organized by *Karang Taruna* or the Youth Organization and another organization whose members are adult married men who are the breadwinners of the

families. I call the latter the Breadwinner Organization. For example, a wedding ceremony usually needs three days to one week to prepare for. The male youth from the Youth Organization are in charge of setting up the tent used for the temporary outdoor public kitchen. The male adults from the Breadwinner Organization help to prepare the drink (usually hot sweetened tea) for the event, set up the tent for the reception, decorate the venue (generally the house of the parents of the bride), distribute food hampers for the invited guest few days before the reception, and clean up the venue after the ceremony is completed. Sending a food hamper is a symbol that the bride and groom expect the invitees to come. In return, these guests will attend the wedding reception and bring along with them a monetary gift put inside a sealed envelope. Those who cannot come to the reception will go to the host's home right after they receive the food hamper to bring the gift and to give well wishes to the bride and groom. The housewives in the village are in charge of cooking all the food and preparing finger foods to go in the hampers for guests who choose to come one or two days before the reception, for volunteers, and for guests who come on the day of the wedding. During the wedding reception, the male and female youth are act as waiters and waitresses. A family event like this becomes a village event in which everyone participates.

One wedding ceremony was carried out during my fieldwork. I witnessed how busy the villagers were at that time. I asked these volunteers why they did not order food from a catering service because it would save time, money, and energy, and the host would only need minimal assistance from neighbors. However, according to them, the most important thing in a life event like this was the collaboration among villagers. Moreover, they said that food from catering companies usually did not taste good

although they charged a lot of money. Furthermore, all the tents, chairs and tables for the event were the property of the village. Thus, they could borrow this party equipment for free, whereas a professional catering service would require them to rent the party equipment. They added that to hire catering services was a practice for people in the city because they no longer knew their neighbors. As a consequence, their only choice was to ask for professional assistance, which of course is not free.

To some extent I agree with them; however, to spend a lot of money for the preparation of cooking (which actually is more costly than ordering food from a catering company) is financially unwise. It is common that the family of the bride has to use up all their savings, borrow money from a loan shark, or sell family assets such as land, jewelry, or a motorcycle to pay for the expenses. Nevertheless, I did not express my disapproval because I know that despite its shortcomings this is a good tradition that strengthens social support. I also found other evidence of collaboration for family affairs turning into a village event although on a much less grandiose scale, such as births, circumcision for boys, death (burial), and memorial services which followed the Javanese tradition (3rd, 7th, 40th, 100th, and 1000th days after the day a person died).

I wondered what would happen if someone intentionally chose to not participate simply because she or he did not want to. According to one of my participants, Sadewa, there would be social punishment for sure. For example, Sadewa told me that during the time he was active in the Youth Organization several years ago, one member was always a no-show every time he was asked to help. In return, almost no one from the youth organization came to help him when he hosted a wedding reception. In addition to that, this person was shunned in the social interaction of the village.

The atmosphere of helping each other was also apparent in the habit of many villagers to never lock their front door. Some even kept their doors always open. Only at night when everyone was asleep would the door finally be locked. It was always like this when I still lived here with my family. This practice reflected their friendliness, willingness to welcome their neighbors, and readiness to help each other. My grandmother was no exception. Before I went out to observe, I always stopped by my grandmother's home to check on her. I often met with my distant relatives or neighbors who came by just to say hi to us, to simply ask for information about my cousins' whereabouts, to borrow something trivial such as a plastic bag, salt, or other spices, or just to bring something for my grandmother like food or drink. It was easy to come and go because the door was never locked. Most of the time, my grandmother would just leave it ajar.

When someone passed away, all villagers were ready to help the family of the deceased. Someone would notify a member of the mosque committee, who would immediately announce the news over the mosque's loudspeaker. Then, everyone would rush to the home of the deceased. Each woman usually brought half a pound of rice to be donated and then stayed to prepare food and flowers for the memorial service while men set up the tent, picked up chairs, and organized who would prepare the burial. All these activities were done voluntarily and spontaneously.

Another example of voluntary collaboration was the neighborhood watch program. All heads of families (i.e., the male breadwinners) must participate in the neighborhood watch. They were clustered into several groups of 10-12 men each. Each group had a task to control the security of the village once a week. When a person could

not fulfill his duty on his scheduled night, he must pay a fine to compensate for his absence. Apart from patrolling the street, each group also collected a little money from each household which was put inside small jars that hung from every house's fence. The money collected was used to fix the street, fund public events, and assist with other village necessities. In the past, each household donated a small jar of rice, but for the sake of practicality rice has been replaced with money.

It seemed to me that the village still maintains Javanese tradition faithfully. Nevertheless, there are some modifications to simplify the various rituals. For example, in the past after a memorial service, food hampers containing spiced steamed rice, round shaped-steamed rice called *sega golong*, a piece of savory chicken, steamed vegetables, and some traditional Javanese sweet and savory snacks were placed in a box made of woven bamboo and distributed to the attendees of the service. Nowadays, the food hamper still exists but the box is made of paper. The content has also changed to raw food such as raw rice, half a pound of granulated sugar, a box of loose tea, one packet of instant noodles, and an egg. All my primary participants expressed their preference for the modern type of hamper even though the old version was full of symbols (e.g., round-shaped rice means whole-hearted obedience to God, spiced-steamed rice was a symbol of prayer dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad, who was believed to like this kind of rice, etc.). They said the old hamper was not practical and financially inefficient. For example, the woven bamboo box is more costly than a paper box, and cooked food must be eaten immediately as it is easily spoiled.

The daily routine of the inhabitants of Gemah seems to be the same since the time I lived here. In the morning, after the children go to school and the husbands go work, the

housewives are busy doing household chores. The majority of the villagers still do laundry by hand although a small number now have a washing machine. After finishing the chores, these housewives go to a *warung* (a family-owned small traditional grocery shop) to find fresh vegetables and other cooking ingredients for the family's lunch and dinner. *Warung* is a crucial place for these housewives as this is the center to exchange information about many things including the latest village gossip. When I asked some housewives whether they also did their grocery shopping in a modern supermarket, all said no. This was also confirmed by Budi, who said: *"Nggak punya duit mbak belanja ke supermarket"* ([We] do not have money for supermarket shopping, Sister[5]"). Thus, a *warung* is the best option because of its affordability. If people need to buy in a large quantity, they will go to a traditional market. *Warung* also involves more human interaction than a modern supermarket because it is not a self-service shop, so all customers have to ask for the owner's assistance whenever they need something, such as to grab them a box of instant noodles, to scale and wrap beans, and so forth. At the same time, they can chat with the owner and other customers about an array of topics. In contrast, in a supermarket everything must be done by themselves. Interaction between the owner or shop attendants and other customers is absent.

Nevertheless, when I looked closely to their daily activitiy, I found some dramatic changes in their life. To kill time, everyone regardless of their age, gender, or educational background loves to watch TV. In the past, only the rich owned a TV set, but nowadays every household has one. In the daytime, housewives and their young children are glued

[5] It is common among the Javanese people to use address term, such as *Mas* "Brother" or *Mbak* "Sister" in a conversation to respect the interlocutor.

to variety shows and entertainment news. At night, Indonesian soap operas targeting female viewers take over. To maintain the flow of conversation with my female participant, I tried to read the latest synopsis of the most popular Indonesian soap opera, which was her favorite program, so that whenever she talked about her favorite TV show I would be able to follow. I found this strategy effective not only to build close rapport with her but also to make her more comfortable during our interview sessions. One thing I noticed was that the majority of villagers are not interested in watching TVRI, the government television broadcasting station which offers more educational programs. In addition, only a few people are interested in watching news programs. Everyone saw TV simply as a medium of entertainment.

Another dramatic change is that motorcycles have replaced bicycles as the primary means of transportation. Only a few families own cars, but all households have at least one motorcycle and even to have more than one is not extraordinary. Despite their low income, they do not think twice about getting a loan from motorcycle dealers. Although it will take at least five years to finally pay off one motorcycle, they do not mind since a motorcycle is a symbol of luxury and success. In addition to this, parents seemed to have lenient rules with regard to motorcycle riding for their children. The legal age to have a permit to ride a motorcycle in Indonesia is 17 years old, but it is an everyday thing to see an underage children (fifth or six graders) riding a motorcycle. When I expressed my concern about their ability to ride safely, their parents proudly said that their children were very skillful riders.

The last obvious phenomenon is to own a mobile phone regardless of how bad or good their financial situation is. It seems to me that everyone but the elderly people has a

cellphone and always carries it everywhere. Since they are fully aware of their financial hardship, they usually buy a second-hand cell phone or purchase one from a low-end brand boasting similar performance as mainstream smartphones. The village youth are the most digitally literate group in terms of maximizing the use of their phone, such as using for basic purposes (texting and calling), taking pictures, installing the latest chat messengers, web browsing, social networking, and so forth. They are also proficient at explaining to me the specifications of the latest cell phone models from various brands. I felt like I was in a cell phone store listening to counter assistants. Eventually, I realized there have been a lot of changes in the life of the village and its inhabitants.

Educational Background

Education became one of my primary interests when conducting my observation because education influences many aspects of the villagers' lives. I went to see my key informant, Budi, to find information about the villagers' educational background. He was more than happy to explain about this and any other information related to my study. The fact that he knew my relatives well, especially my uncle, had helped me tremendously to generate information from him. Budi would not have granted me easy access to interview him if I were a complete outsider. Since he felt uncomfortable being recorded, he asked me to just take notes. To follow his request, I did not record my interview with him. The interview was conducted in Indonesian.

According to Budi, the villagers were not really concerned about education. For them the most important thing is to get a job after finishing high school or even middle school. Budi himself did not have the opportunity to go to college because of financial reasons. When I asked him why the villagers did not look for scholarships from the

government, he replied that government scholarships are very competitive. Moreover, the villagers did not know where to find such information. I later received the same response from villagers, especially the youth. It is ironic to hear that because young people in the village are technologically savvy, and browsing for information in the virtual world is not an alien activity for them. Unfortunately, the sophisticated cell phone is mainly perceived as a symbol of modernity, a means to access entertainment (e.g., download songs, watch videos on YouTube, get the latest entertainment news, etc.), and a social network to update their activities. Nobody perceives it as an avenue to access a vast array of knowledge and information for a better future.

Budi also explained that it is hard to compete in the education domain with people from the city who generally have more resources to excel in schools. For example, no sixth graders in this village go to private tutoring centers to prepare themselves for the upcoming national exam, mainly because of financial reasons. Budi added, despite being busy working and financially poor, parents' low educational attainment make them less aware of how challenging it is to even pass the national exam let alone to get a high score. I even found it quite common in this village to have the TV on in the evening when the children were supposed to be studying or doing homework. Children watched TV together with their parents in the evening without taking any consideration whether the program was suitable for the children or whether the children should use the time to study. When I told Budi about what I found, Budi said parents here indeed had very lenient rules in relation to watching TV. Children in this village usually ended up getting average or even substandard grades on the national exam, which forced them to enroll in

mediocre public schools or low-quality private schools. This vicious cycle was again repeated when they were in middle and high schools.

I argue that the absence of a role model in the family made the most significant contribution to this situation. For generations, no one in the family had achieved high educational attainment, so the children had nobody to look up to. A number of teenagers quit school because lack of parental control at home made them pay little attention to their studies. Even when a child excelled in school, he or she was unable to continue to the next level of education due to financial constraints. One of my primary participants, Hartono, experienced this. Her daughter was one of the best students in her elementary and middle schools. After finishing middle school, she insisted on attending a vocational high school so that she could get a job right away. Although Hartono would have paid for her tuition in college if she had changed her mind, she was firmly decisive. Hartono admitted that she would have used up all his savings, sold some of her belongings, and borrowed money from her boss to pay for her college tuition. In short, he would do anything for her daughter because she would be the first person in his family to get a college degree. However, her daughter did not want to burden him with financial obligations for her education. Therefore, since finishing the vocational high school program, she has worked at a factory on another island.

Another irony is that a private college is located right in this village, yet the villagers simply became the audience watching outsiders pursuing higher education there. For the villagers, the college provided job opportunities to work as clerical staff, security guards, and custodians but financial constraints do not allow the young generation in Gemah to study in college. Another issue is that the requirements to enter the school are

quite high, so they did not think they could compete with the outsiders. When I presented this finding to Budi, he said it was true that money was always an issue. This is an irony. When I recalled my experience with the youth who described to me their fancy smart phones and the fact that almost every household had at least one motorcycle, it seemed to me that the villagers made very serious efforts to have tangible property but made fewer efforts for education. In the end, Budi admitted that in addition to financial constraint, lack of motivation was also the primary reason. I could not agree more with him.

When I asked Budi whether there were any young villagers who were currently pursuing higher education, without any doubt he said "almost none." According to Budi, it was easy to tell who went to college. Only a few villagers pursued degrees in higher education because only the children of the rich families went to college. There are only ten families who are financially well situated. Of these ten families, only four were natives of the village; the rest were newcomers. Most of the young generation aged 30 and below graduated from high school or vocational school. Some of them did not even finish their secondary education. Most of the teenagers chose to go to vocational middle school and vocational high school in the hope to find a job immediately after finishing their studies. Some went to the nearby public secondary schools while some others went to low-quality private secondary schools.

According to Budi, the majority of the adults and older people (30 to 50 years old) had a high school diploma or at least had finished middle school, but he could still name some people who only had an elementary education. Moreover, the majority of the male elderly villagers (aged 70 and older) were illiterate and all the female elderly were illiterate. The male elders who were literate came from families who were well off during

the Dutch occupation so that they had a chance to pursue education during the colonial period. Although Budi did not have any written official data, I trusted him because every time he talked about a family and their educational background, he knew the name of each member of the family and even knew well in which part of the village they lived, where the fathers worked, who the grandparents were, and so forth. The fact that this village has been inhabited by the same families from generation to generation made it easy for everyone to know each other very well.

Although education seemed to not be a priority in the village, Budi assured me that he personally supported any efforts to promote education for the next generation. For example, he took part in the establishment of a half-day pre-kindergarten run by the women's organization of the village. The location of this pre-K was in the residence of one of the villagers who voluntarily provided their spacious living room and front yard. The instructors were also members of this organization and almost all were housewives. By having this community-run pre-K, all the young children in the village could have a chance to attend at a very affordable price.

Linguistic Repertoires

I dedicated this section to discussing the linguistic practices of this community in order to understand how speakers enacted a variety of linguistic resources to convey messages in spoken interactions. Furthermore, linguistic repertoires "are not merely seen as arbitrary, as playful language use devoid of social context, but are instead described in relation to grounded local practices" (Busch, 2012, p. 505). Therefore, a closer look at these linguistic practices would enable me to examine the role of Javanese and Indonesian languages in this speech community and further assist me to elaborate the

language ideology of Javanese language speakers toward their mother tongue. During the first week of my observation, I always received the same reaction once they found out that my research was about the Javanese language. "Why Javanese?" "Americans want to know our language? Really?" "I thought you're studying English!" I tried to explain about my research objectives as simply as possible so that they would understand why Javanese language is worth studying, but it seemed to me they still could not believe that I would conduct research about our native language. To me, these initial reactions mirrored their subconscious attitude toward their mother tongue.

From my observation, Javanese language, especially *Ngoko* (both *Lugu* and *Alus*), still played a role in the daily conversation of villagers regardless of their age, gender, and background. But Javanese *Ngoko* was only relevant for less formal communication and used among familial interlocutors. For example, conversation in a *warung* or in cafeterias or casual chats among friends was conducted in Javanese. This finding corroborated Errington (1985), Moedjanto (1986), and Siegel (1986), who stated that *Ngoko* is the language of emotion and intimacy. However, my findings in the field seemed to negate two of Moedjanto's propositions that *Ngoko* is used to speak to a person who is of younger age and seen as younger from the point of view of family tree. Within the family domain, *Ngoko*, even the *Lugu* one, was used as the primary means of communication between parents and children or even grandparents, parents, and children. I could not find one family who spoke to their parents or grandparents using *Krama*. Thus, the rules seem now to have changed such that as long as the interlocutors were close to each other (i.e., family members), the use of *Ngoko* is possible.

There was a linguistic moment worth noting. A teenage girl came over to my participant's home. My participant was an elderly woman who lived with her older grandson. Details about her background can be found in section 4.3.1. This girl abruptly showed up and asked about the whereabouts of my participant's younger grandson. I noticed that this girl used *Ngoko Lugu* to my participant although she was a distant relative. In addition, the age gap was very wide between them. Although she used *Ngoko Lugu*, she tried to be polite by speaking softly and using appropriate body language. Nevertheless, I could see that my participant's face changed. When the girl left us, my participant started to rant about how rude she was and that her mother had not taught her well. In our next meetings, my participant kept talking about her unfavorable feelings toward the girl. Later on, I found out that many elders and older adults expressed their antipathy toward this girl by pointing out her poor manners. It was clear to me that this girl was a pariah in this society. When I mentioned that the teenage boys here showed the same manner like this girl but nobody complained, add had the same argument: she was a girl. A girl should be well mannered and spoke politely, with the appropriate form of Javanese. This corroborated Smith-Hefner's finding (1988) that Javanese women were expected to act as role models of refined Javanese speaking.

With respect to language choice, I found that this depended on the nature of the linguistic event. In informal conversation such as in a *warung*, all the speakers used Javanese *Ngoko* to highlight the closeness among them. In formal conversation, such as in a meeting, Indonesian was the primary option. This was evident in the meeting of the youth organization. The head of the organization began the meeting with an Islamic greeting (in Arabic), *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*, which means

"May the peace, the mercy, and the blessings of *Allah* be upon you," and the attendees responded accordingly: *Wa'alaikum salam warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* ("May the peace and mercy of *Allah* be with you too"). When he closed the meeting, he also used similar greetings in Arabic. Considering that almost 100% of the inhabitants here are Muslim, I knew that the use of Islamic greetings is a common practice in a meeting. When the organization head read the meeting agenda, which mostly talked about reports from each committee and plans for future events, he switched to Indonesian and continued speaking in Indonesian during the discussion session. Every time someone interrupted to give a comment or to ask questions, he or she also used Indonesian. Interestingly, whenever a person intended to break the ice, to give trivial comments, or simply to crack a joke when everyone was too carried away with serious discussions, he or she turned to Javanese. This was an effective way to transform the formal atmosphere into informal. Laughter could be heard from every corner.

Unlike Indonesian, which seemed to sound more formal, Javanese does play an effective role as a language of intimacy and emotion to create the feeling of closeness among members of this organization. I suddenly recalled my experience in college watching a Javanese stand-up comedian performing in the Javanese language and sometimes mixing it a little bit with Indonesian. The show was so funny that the audience could not stop laughing. I had to wipe my eyes many times as I laughed until I cried. He became so famous locally that he had the opportunity to join a comedy show on national TV. This time, he along with other comedians performed skits completely in Indonesian. Even though this Javanese comedian often did improvisation to make the skits funny, he ultimately failed. I recalled my brother's comments on this comedian's performance: "He

was funny when doing this in Javanese. It's not working in Indonesian." The shortcoming of Indonesian to serve for this purpose had been pointed out by American anthropologist James Peacock (1973, p. 79, as cited in Anwar (1980, p. 1): "Bahasa Indonesia is a language, peculiarly turgid, humorless, awkward, mechanical, and bereft of emotion or sensuality."

Indonesian is indeed perceived as an appropriate formal language. My experience interviewing my other key informant, Sumarto, was solid evidence for that statement. My uncle accompanied me to go to Sumarto's residence located on the north side of the village. My uncle had informed him about my intention a few days beforehand and this time he accompanied me to introduce me to Sumarto in person. After the introduction, my uncle left to run errands, planning to pick me up in one hour. Sumarto is in his late 60s and is one of the few educated people in the village. He has a bachelor degree from the local state university, majoring in Pharmacy. Upon completion of his study, he taught part-time for the school of pharmacy in that university before moving to Jakarta to pursue a successful professional career in the capital city. When he retired, he decided to go back to the village where his extended family lived. He was excited to learn that I was doing a study about Javanese, and was the only person in the village who had this reaction. In the middle of the interview, he told me that he was interested in Javanese language and arts and was currently participating actively in a Javanese musical and opera group in the village. Unfortunately, this group had been in hiatus for a year because its members were busy with their work and more importantly the owner of the *gamelan*, a set of Javanese traditional instruments used by this group for musical performances, had sold it.

During this ice breaking moment, the language used was Javanese. Because he was much older than me, I used *Krama* to show my respect to him while he also responded in *Krama*, which I assumed was because of my role as a researcher and our distant relation. But then, when I started the interview, he suddenly switched to Indonesian from beginning to end. Even when I asked questions in Javanese, he always replied in Indonesian. I tried asking questions in Javanese several times to find out whether he would switch to Javanese. He still maintained the same strategy of using Indonesian until the interview was completed. Yet, he greeted me and my uncle in Javanese when we said goodbye. I realized that Sumarto perceived interviewing as a formal activity which needed to be treated with formal language, Indonesian, while ice-breaking conversations required a less formal language, Javanese.

Children and teenagers in this village used Javanese *Ngoko* when they interacted with their peers even though in schools they had to speak in Indonesian to their teachers. Even children younger than 7 years old still maintained Javanese *Ngoko* for their daily communication at home and in the village. Likewise, young adults, adults, and older adults all exhibited the same pattern in that they chose Javanese *Ngoko* at home or within the village perimeter for casual occasions. In fact, they also used *Ngoko Alus* and *Lugu* across groups. They never used Javanese *Krama* during a conversation involving mixed groups of young adults, adults, and older adults. At work, however, they used only Indonesian to their non-Javanese co-coworkers or mixed with Javanese *Ngoko Alus* with their Javanese colleagues.

Based on my interaction with the residents of Gemah, I found that competence in using Javanese *Krama* was poor for children and teenagers, while young adults (younger

than 30) displayed a passable fluency. Children and teenagers would borrow few vocabulary words from *Krama*, then continued in Indonesian to sound polite. The young adults could perform better than their younger counterparts, but they often struggled to make a full sentence in *Krama*. The adults have better competence than the younger adults, but they admitted to me that they did not feel comfortable using the language in formal situations, though using it to converse with their elders was fine for them. The older adults were fluent in all Javanese speech levels; however, just like the adult group, the older adults preferred to use Indonesian when they delivered a speech during life event celebrations or when they attended village meetings. Some of them mentioned to me that many modern vocabulary words did not have Javanese equivalents, so Indonesian was perceived as a better option. Even though these villagers displayed various competency levels in Javanese speech, everyone made efforts to use the polite form when they spoke to elderly people. Specifically, the children and teenagers did try hard to be polite to the elderly people although the results were broken Javanese *Krama* mixed with *Ngoko* and Indonesian. But overall, Javanese *Ngoko* is the primary *lingua franca* for village communication.

Although Indonesian was not the primary *lingua franca* for everyday conversation, everyone was proficient in it. I was actually not surprised to discover this because Indonesian is everywhere (Zentz, 2012). Nevertheless, I am curious how the older people, most of whom were illiterate, acquired Indonesian. I asked some elderly people these questions when I visited one of my distant relatives to attend a life event celebration. According to them, in the past they learned the language by listening to Indonesian conversation on the radio when the first president of Indonesia delivered his

speech. They were also accustomed to hearing it when they went to the city to work or to run errands. Over time, they acquired it and could speak the language. An elderly woman told me, *Kabeh do boso Indonesia. Yo kene mung melu-melu* "Everyone speaks Indonesian so we just follow." This situation was common during the New Order period when TV and radio were intensively broadcast in Indonesian. In the 2000s, exposure to Indonesian became stronger especially because of the TV programs aired 24/7 in Indonesian.

Transformation: Turning to Religion

A phenomenon that I strongly noticed was that some older adult as well as the elderly began to be more Islamic. A few years ago, this village was still known for their devotion to syncretic Islam or *Abangan* (see Chapter 1). However, this situation has gradually changed. Every time *azan* (call to prayer) is called out by a *muazzin* (prayer caller) from the village mosque, they diligently proceed to the mosque to perform prayer together five times a day. In the past when I was a child, the mosque was a quiet place with only one or two people praying, but during the time I conducted my pilot study in 2011, the situation had changed. Therefore, in 2012 I devoted my time to also examine this issue to find out whether this had to do with contemporary Javanese identity.

The first transformation is in the way the women in this village choose their outfits. I found that some of the older female adults and even the female elders have changed the way they dressed to be more modest. They also wear headscarves whenever they go out to attend formal gatherings or to visit their relatives in other villages. A few female adults have started to wear loose dresses and cover their hair on a daily basis. Some men wear *baju koko*, a collarless long-sleeved shirt commonly worn by Muslim

men when they pray. When I interviewed Budi, he was wearing a *baju koko*. I learned from Budi that some villagers including himself had learned more intensively about Islam from a Muslim preacher, Syafi'i, over the past few years. Once a month, these villagers came to Syafi'i's place for a religious gathering and once a week there was also a smaller gathering which everyone was welcome to attend.

A Javanese couple who were my supporting participants, Ratna and Agung, are active members of Syafi'i's groups. I have known Ratna since I was a child and I knew very well that five years prior to my fieldwork she had not covered herself, but now she has changed the way she dressed to be in accordance with Islamic modesty practices. She said that her motivation to understand more about Islam was caused by her and her husband's concern about today's social illnesses such as drug and alcohol use and free sex. They want to be good examples for their children. She thinks that young generation in this village now have no respect at all for older people, are rude, do not care about education, and do things against their religion. She mentioned to me that she wants to move away from Gemah because its environment is unsupportive to nurture religion and education. Although she knows the number of troubled young people is small, she sees that it has gradually increased, yet nobody cares about it. For this couple, religion was the panacea to cure the moral deterioration among the young generation in Gemah.

Ratna and Agung were elated that more and more villagers are practicing Islam more faithfully. In addition, the number of villagers who joined Syafi'i has also increased. Two years ago, only their family and one other family were followers, but after Syafi'i went to Gemah to invite the villagers in person, their neighbors began to have positive responses:

Ratna: *Saiki wong tuwo-tuwo sholat neng mesjid trus do nganggo jilbab sing wedok*

"You see, now even the elders pray in mosque and wear headscarves."

During my visit to their place, Ratna excitedly showed me a book containing prayers written in Arabic that Syafi'i had advised them to read. She was also proud that now she and her husband could read the *Qur'an* and prayers written in Arabic. Their literacy in Arabic is another sign of the influence of religion in their life.

Ratna's opinion about the villager's inclination to Islam was corroborated by my primary participant, Sadewa. Nowadays parents strongly encourage their children to learn to read the *Qur'an* and write in Arabic by sending them to classes in a nearby mosque owned by an individual located in the west part of the village. The mosque belonging to the village did not have such services due to the absence of Arabic and *Qur'an* teachers. Ratna said:

> *Soale kene kan Islame kan yo Islam nggak maksude Islam Abangan [...]Memang ket mbiyen kan kene kan nggon Islame kan memang kurang to [...] Memang di sini kan nggak ada ahli agama yang kuat bisa jadi panutan [...] Tapi nek saiki wis mulai banyak yang mulai rame. Soale saiki banyak yang melu pengajian kae. Dadine mesjide mulai rame.*
>
> Because here the Islam [which the villagers embrace] is not Islam, what I mean is Islam *Abangan*. ... Since a long time ago [in this village the position of Islam] has been weak. Here we do not have a Muslim preacher whom we can turn to. [...] But now [in the village mosque], more people are coming because many of them join religious gatherings. So now our mosque seems to have more [visitors].

Figure 16. The village mosque in Gemah is being renovated. (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

One thing I learned from the villagers who joined Syafi'i and Idris was that they did not prohibit the villagers from maintaining Javanese traditions. While I often heard in the media about the movement to purify Islam from any elements of tradition endorsed by a particular Islamic group in Indonesia, I was quite surprised that both of these preachers did not oppose the tradition. "No, he did not prohibit us to maintain tradition, for example carrying out memorial services by following Javanese tradition, because we recite *Qur'an* during the service. We pray to *Allah*, not to the spirits like our ancestors," Agung told me. I asked Ratna and Agung to introduce me to Syafi'i because he has

become an influential figure in the village societal transformation. Therefore, his insights might be instrumental to understand the Javanese's inclination toward Islam. I further elaborate the findings from my interview with Syafi'i in chapter 7.

Ripah Village

Ripah is located in Arga regency. I am also familiar with this village because members of my immediate family live here. I used to live here before I moved to West Java in 2007, but I often returned to Ripah for the holidays. Unlike Gemah, Ripah has transformed into an urban area due to rapid infrastructure developments for commerce, tourism, housing, and education by the year 2000. In the early 1990s, the village was very quiet with a low number of inhabitants. Our house was located in the corner of the village, where our closest "neighbors" were green spaces including bamboo fields, breadfruit gardens, paddy fields, and other empty spaces with tropical vegetation. Every morning, whenever I opened the window, the view of Mount Merapi welcomed me to start the day. But now, everything has drastically changed as our neighborhood is packed with a new housing complex. The view of Mount Merapi has been replaced by a wall of my neighbors' houses.

In the mid-1990s, five major private universities in Yogyakarta began to move their primary campuses to within a 1.5-mile radius of the village. As a result, the number of students looking for rental accommodation increased sharply. By the year 2000, residential homes were commonly transformed into boarding houses. Two houses on the left and right of my parents' house had turned into boarding houses. Because of the influx of students, all facilities were established to meet their needs, including three convenience stores, a gas station, a hospital, a commercial center, a sport center, and so

forth. At night, more than 50 vendors set up their tents by the side of the main road of the village. In 2006, right after the earthquake which claimed more than 3,522 lives in Yogyakarta (KEMSOS, 2006), the biggest shopping mall in Central Java was opened in the vicinity of the village, within 10 minutes walking distance from my parents' home. Because of its close location to the international airport, some hotels were also constructed near the village. In the following sections, I described in detail the rapid changes in Ripah.

Life in Ripah Village

Daily life in Ripah village is always busy day and night. At dawn when *azan* (prayer call) is called out from the mosque, the adult males proceed to the mosque immediately, while housewives start to do house chores and children prepare for school. Because our home is located by the inner street, narrow but paved, I could hear motorcycles starting to pass on the street from very early in the morning. Three of my neighbors living across from us own small cafeterias to provide home-cooked food for the students living in nearby boarding houses. Even before dawn, they are ready to go to the traditional market located half a mile away from Ripah to pick up the freshest vegetables and fruits. Their motorcycles go back and forth as the vehicles could not carry heavy loads in one trip.

The morning becomes busier at around 6:30 am when parents take their children to school by motorcycle while high school students ride their motorcycles to school. Then, my neighbors who work for government offices or private companies go next. After that, college students who study at the nearby vocational colleges and private universities also ride their motorcycles to reach their destinations starting at around 8:30

am. Next, housewives leave for a *warung* on foot to buy fresh vegetables, poultry, meat, and other fresh produce. Despite its urban character, it is still common for the village residents to shop in a *warung* regularly. Just like in Gemah, *warung* is also an arena for exchanging informal information about anything. Besides shopping in a *warung*, the residents also go to a traditional market for their daily needs. Grocery shopping in modern supermarkets is also a common practice among the villagers.

Street sellers play a significant role in the village daily life. For example, a street seller offering vegetables and a wide selection of fresh produce pushes his cart around the village while ringing a bell to call out his prospective customers. Then, another person also pushes his cart, selling chicken curry soup for the villagers who want something for breakfast. At noon, other products such as fresh fruit, *dim sum* (steamed dumplings), ice cream, and milk are offered by other vendors riding bicycles or tricycles. Every early afternoon, a small truck selling plastic household items comes by. Once in a while there will be a small truck selling mattresses. This seller used a loudspeaker to let everyone know that he was there. In late afternoons, savory snacks and sweets vendors take over, while at night I heard the sound of a bell coming from the street, which was a sign that people who sell chicken satay (grilled sliced chicken on skewers), fried rice, and fried noodles on their food cart were passing by. If I were a foreigner, I would feel like I live inside a shopping center where everything is available within a hand's reach. Twenty years ago, I hardly ever saw people passing on the street to sell something, but now every street seller would come to our door from day to night.

Indeed, drastic change has happened in Ripah in all aspects, including the composition of inhabitants, which is now dominated by the outsiders. My key informant

Supardi, whose family has been living here for five generations, presented this fact when I interviewed him. According to Supardi, starting in the early 1990s, newcomers began to come gradually, and the number increased sharply at the advent of the millennium because of the village's strategic location. Overtime, the number of the original villagers decreased because some chose to sell their houses and land as the price skyrocketed in response to the development of educational institutions, hotels, and business centers. Specifically, the elderly sold a portion of their paddy fields, purchased a new house in the countryside and moved there. Their houses and the other portions of their paddy fields were passed on to their adult children.

At the same time the newcomers were coming in, an influx of temporary residents, especially college students from other provinces, was also in progress. Based on the official data, as of 2011, there were 2,180 permanent inhabitants who mostly were Javanese. Of this number, 1099 were male while 2081 were female. Based on Supardi's estimation, the ratio between the original villagers and the newcomers is around 50:50. I also learned that the ratio between Muslims and non-Muslims for the permanent inhabitants is 70:30. Unfortunately, there are no records documenting the exact number of the original villagers and the temporary residents. Moreover, based on Supardi's estimation, there are at least ten boarding houses in every block. The village consists of eight blocks. Therefore, there are roughly 80 boarding houses in total. If each boarding house accommodates 10 residents, there are about 800 temporary residents, mostly students.

With a high number of college students living here, new business opportunities to meet the needs of these students have arisen. As a result, a significant number of the

natives of the village have left their agricultural jobs which were far less profitable. Besides transforming their residential homes into boarding houses and opening cafeterias, they also run small convenience stores, laundry services, online game centers, and cell phone counters selling used cell phones and data/text/talk vouchers. Those who owned paddy fields chose to rent the land, which investors from the city have transformed into modern cafes, restaurants, shopping centers, and even gas stations. As a result, not only do the villagers receive regular incomes but they are also able to find other jobs to get additional income. I would not be surprised if in the near future the agricultural area changes its function into commercial centers because the monetary incentive is too strong to refuse. Since these villagers did not have any skills other than agriculture, they looked for unskilled or minimum skilled jobs in the nearby business and commercial centers and work as security guards, parking attendants, shop assistants, gas station attendants, and custodians. According to one of my participants, Agung, the robust establishment of business centers in Ripah had made the village have a zero unemployment record.

Even though he admitted that the area for agricultural purposes had diminished rapidly, Supardi claimed that villagers were still loyal to their agricultural jobs. The village established a farmer's organization called *Tani Makmur* which currently has 40 members and supervises almost 100 acres of paddy fields. In addition to this, an organization to support freshwater fishery activities was also established under the name *Mina Tani* to assist its 28 members. The success of *Tani Makmur* to cultivate rice and produce successful crop was recognized by the local agricultural authority, who joined with the farmers to celebrate the harvest season on March 7, 2012. It was amazing to know that the villagers still maintain their loyalty to their heritage occupation. However, I

realized that for the members of *Tani Makmur* and *Mina Tani*, being a farmer is no longer their primary job. There are other profitable avenues available for them. For example, apart from being active in *Tani Makmur* to cultivate rice, Supardi's main profession is as a government official. In addition, he owns a boarding house and once in a while he takes a job as a master of ceremony for Javanese wedding receptions.

Unlike the inhabitants in Gemah, the residents in Ripah (both the newcomers and the natives of the village) in general are financially better situated. Most of the newcomers have good jobs in the educational sector, medical fields, and other respected professions. Although the native villagers did not work for prestigious institutions, their family-owned businesses had made them socioeconomically equal with the newcomers. Due to the relative absence of a socioeconomic gap, Supardi indicated that interactions between the original inhabitants of the village and the newcomers are always good. There is no conflict either between the temporary and permanent residents because of the mutual benefit enjoyed by both parties.

Despite the occupational shift, some practices are still well maintained. I began my fieldwork in Ripah almost at the beginning of *Ramadan*, the fasting month for Muslims. The village has a tradition to welcome *Ramadan* by organizing the reading of short chapters in the *Qur'an* for male adults every night for seven days prior to the first day of *Ramadan*. During *Ramadan*, people gathered in the mosque to break the fast together while at night they prayed together in congregation.

Figure 17. The mosque in Ripah during the month of *Ramadan*. (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

After the month of *Ramadan* ends, the village holds a celebration called *Syawalan* to enable the residents to ask for forgiveness from each other. It is common among Muslims in Indonesia to do this during the month of *Syawal* (the month which comes after *Ramadan* in the Islamic lunar calendar) to symbolize a complete process of purification of body and soul. Along with my father and my brother I went to this annual event, which was held at 7:30 pm on the village inner street which was temporarily closed for the event. A native villager who runs a successful convenience store and has a big boarding house provided the food and snack boxes for everyone who attended. Sweetened black hot tea was also served. All the invitees sat on the ground, which was covered with Javanese woven mats. After the welcome speech in Indonesian from a prominent figure of the village, we listened to a religious sermon delivered in Indonesian by a fellow villager known for his Islamic knowledge.

Figure 18. Syawalan in Ripah. (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

After the speech, a group of Javanese musicians including two amateur female singers wearing traditional Javanese attire performed some Javanese songs. The attendees seemed to enjoy the entertainment very much. A couple of other villagers even took over the microphone and started to sing wholeheartedly.

Although not as strong as in Gemah, the spirit of collaboration is still evident here. Just like in the Gemah, when somebody passed away, the villagers would voluntarily help the family to prepare for the burial and memorial services. In contrast, for a wedding reception, the residents preferred to order food and beverage from a catering company and hold the reception in the village auditorium or in a hotel. However, if a family chose to carry out the reception at home, they would still have hired a catering company but ask the members of the youth organization to help serve food and beverages, set up the place, and clean up.

Neighborhood watch also exists here. Male adults and older adults in Ripah must participate in this program. They are clustered into several groups and would take turns to guard the village, one group per night. Nowadays, the village is always active 24 hours a day, which means that any suspicious activities from strangers can be reported right away. In the mid-1990s, at 9 p.m. the street was already so quiet that if a person tried to sneak into someone's home, nobody would notice. But now the situation has changed dramatically, so the group now only spends a couple of hours to monitor the village whereas before they would spend several hours checking every corner. The neighborhood watch program now simply collects money from the residents from 10 p.m. until before midnight. I still remember that when we first moved here, my mother always put three spoonfuls of white rice in a small cup and hung it on our fence. The men who were on duty for the watch picked it up at midnight. All the rice collected every night was sold to fund the activity in the village. Nowadays, money is perceived to be more practical, so my mother now leaves a 500-rupiah coin inside a plastic cup and hangs the cup on the fence. Five hundred rupiah is not a lot of money, but when it is accumulated from every household every night, the amount becomes significant. This money along with financial contributions given by business units scattered throughout the village areas are combined to fund the rehabilitation of village streets, renovation of the village hall, the pre-K and Kindergarten owned by the village, and ceremonial activities such as Independence Day.

Educational Background

According to Supardi, almost all of the permanent residents who were not the natives of the village had at least a bachelor's degree and some also had graduate degrees, specifically Master's degrees. The second generation of this group also graduated from

higher education institutions or are still pursuing bachelor's degrees. Those in elementary and secondary schools have strong aspirations to continue to college. In brief, pursuing a degree to higher education institution is a common practice. However, like in Gemah, almost all of the elderly village natives were illiterate, especially the women. The highest level of education for the older native adults in general was secondary education. Those who were born in the 1980s or before preferred to study in vocational high schools. The men would choose one of three streams, engineering, automotive repair, or building construction, while the women generally chose bookkeeping, fashion design, or hair and beauty majors. However, the young generation of the village natives who were born in 1990s were likely to have higher educational attainment.

The fact that this village is surrounded by several prominent universities and some vocational colleges has indeed had a positive influence on the young generation of the native villagers. The newcomers' attitude toward education as well as the example of the temporary student residents has also contributed to their positive attitude. This situation is totally contradictory to what has happened in Gemah. In my opinion, the fact that well-educated people who have good jobs are frequently found in Ripah has influenced the native villagers to pursue the same path. Moreover, their parents have stronger financial resources than their fellows in Gemah. Thus, pursuing higher education is not a problem.

According to Supardi who cited the official data from the local government of Arga regency, another evidence of the villagers' positive feelings for education is that the number of teenagers who drop out of secondary schools is zero. Furthermore, attending private tutoring centers to prepare themselves for national exams or university entrance exams is also a common practice, and enrolling in English or other foreign language

courses is not an extraordinary phenomenon either. Less than one mile from the village there is an English course center which is a branch of an international English institution. Even in the village, a newcomer resident has opened a private English tutoring center.

Figure 19. An English course tutoring center in Ripah (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

To support pre-elementary education, Ripah opened a low-cost half-day kindergarten two decades ago run by the village's women's organization, who are responsible for the day-to-day learning activities and administrative matters. This kindergarten is located in a building owned by the village. In addition, a *Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an* (TPA) or Quran Learning Center has also been available for more than 20 years. Just like in Gemah, the teaching and learning activity for the TPA takes place in the village's mosque. The center is dedicated to children aged 4 to 12 year old and carries out activities every day from 4 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. The volunteers for this TPA are not only the villagers (mostly college students) but also the temporary students. Thus,

the students who live in boarding houses also actively participate to help young children learn Arabic and daily prayers.

Linguistic Repertoires

To investigate the linguistic repertoire in Ripah, I first focused on language choices of the children aged 12 and below. When I did observations in the village mosque during *Ramadan,* I particularly paid attention to the dynamic of their language choices. I discovered that children spoke to their peers or to older people (e.g., *Qur'an* teacher, other mosque goers) in Indonesian. Even when they were playing, talking with their peers about trivial things, or running around in the front yard of the mosque I could hear them conversing in Indonesian. Sometimes the mosque attendees felt disturbed by the noise, so they approached the mosque committee to ask the children to quiet down. When the committee told the children to behave (and the children usually obeyed), the interaction was always carried out in Indonesian. These children sometimes borrowed few Javanese words but most of the times they spoke in Indonesian.

I also noticed whenever a group of children passed the inner street in front of my home, their chit-chat was always in Indonesian. Likewise, when I ran into some children in *warungs* or small cafeterias, they used Indonesian to communicate with the sellers although I knew very well that the parents of those children are Javanese. Indonesian was used from a very early age. This was apparent in my own family when my 18-month-old nephew started to learn to talk and everyone in the family would talk to him in Indonesian. When he played with other toddlers, the mothers, who were all Javanese, always interacted with these toddlers in Indonesian. I found similar linguistic patterns among other Javanese toddlers in the village. It is worth noting that these young children

also spoke Indonesian with a very thick Javanese accent which they picked up from their parents.

Teenagers to older adults use Indonesian and Javanese interchangeably depending on the domains and the interlocutors. Because teenagers and young adults interact often with temporary resident students and since the majority of the students come from the central and eastern parts of Indonesia, whenever those students are present, the conversation would be carried out in Indonesian. The Javanese young generation usually use Javanese *Ngoko* but when they converse with older people they prefer Indonesian unless the person they are talking to is a relative, when they would turn to Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* (for immediate relatives) or *Ngoko Alus* and *Krama* (for distant relatives). Similar patterns of this linguistic repertoire are also found among the adults, the older adults, and the elderly. When the teenagers and older groups converse with the newcomers they would usually use Indonesian, but when they know the newcomers are Javanese they would continue speaking in Indonesian but sometimes mix it with few Javanese *Krama* words here and there.

Indonesian is also the main choice to converse with the street food sellers or other outsiders (e.g., technician from the electric company, delivery man, etc.) regardless of their background. Indonesian as a neutral means of communication is perceived to the most suitable choice to communicate with strangers. In contrast, in a *warung* or a cafeteria, Javanese adults would switch back and forth from Indonesian to Javanese *Krama* or *Ngoko Alus.* At a more formal occasion, the medium of communication is Indonesian. I had the opportunity to observe such a formal event when our family celebrated my sister's wedding. My parents invited male Muslim villagers to recite the

Qur'an. Before reading the *Qur'an*, there was a short speech in Indonesian to give blessings to the newlyweds delivered by a well-respected figure in the village. The entire event was conducted in Indonesian and even when the attendees congratulated my sister and her husband, they expressed their well wishes in Indonesian. Similarly, in the youth organization meetings as well as in village meetings, everyone uses Indonesian to show respect to attendees who are not Javanese. In addition, the discussion in the meetings usually involves vocabulary that could not be expressed in Javanese such as terms used for financial reports, future projects, and mission and vision. For the same reasons, Indonesian is also used to deliver sermons in the Ripah mosque. In the daily life of the village, both Javanese and Indonesian play important roles as the mediums of communication. However, Indonesian dominated in the formal domain and outside the family domain because of the presence of non-Javanese speakers. Indonesian has begun to permeate even the family domain, especially in families which have young children.

Transformation from a Quiet Village into a Thriving Urban Area

Unlike in Gemah village, where people seem to know each other well, the inhabitants of Ripah might not know their neighbors except for those who have lived here for several years. Thus, there is no house where the doors were left unlocked. Moreover, to come and go to someone's place just to borrow something trivial is extremely rare, except among relatives. According to Supardi, Ripah has also adopted an individualistic life style over time. For example, the native villagers and the newcomers (who moved to the village prior to 1990) usually know each other. However, they are less familiar with their neighbors who moved after the mid-1990s because the later newcomers generally do not interact often with the old residents. Unlike Budi, Supardi could not tell me about

everyone's background in Ripah by heart. I also found that the spirit of collaboration is not as strong anymore in the sense that collaboration is only apparent among the original inhabitants and the old "newcomers." Lastly, as I mentioned before, the celebration of life events like weddings, circumcisions, or birth only require very limited assistance from neighbors since generally people order food from a catering company. This transformation to some extent has also influenced the village's linguistic repertoire, making Indonesian more dominant in wider domains. The maintenance of Javanese among the next generation seems to be more challenging in Ripah because Indonesian has entered into the life of the future Javanese speakers. However, nobody mentioned their awareness about such language shift.

Unlike in Gemah, where drastic religious transformation is in progress, such phenomenon was present but the level of change was gradual. In the early 1990s when my family moved here, almost every one practiced Islam and only a few elderly people embraced syncretism. Going to a mosque and sending children to *Qur'an* learning centers were common practices. In contrast, the majority of the inhabitants in Gemah embraced syncretic Islam while some did not practice any beliefs at all although they claimed to be Muslim. That is why I stated that the transformation in Ripah is more subtle than in Gemah because in Ripah, people were already fairly devout. It is worth noting that Ripah is located very close to Syafi'i's place, but none of its residents are his followers. Later on I found out from Syafi'i that his primary targets are slum areas and countrysides because according to Syafi'i people living in slum areas are prone to commit crimes and engage in drug/alcohol abuse, while in the countryside people still embraced syncretism.

Because of that, Syafi'i aimed at helping these groups to find God. Since these two factors were not found in Ripah, Syafi'i did not make Ripah his priority.

There are two obvious religious influences in this village. After the year 2000, parents turned to Arabic names when naming their newborns, and this was still true during my observation. Every time my family received food hampers from families celebrating new babies, the babies' names were always Arabic. The second religious influence is found among the females, regardless of their age. Now the majority choose to wear outfits in accordance with Islamic traditions Those who do not wear headscarves in their daily life would cover when attending a life event such as a wedding, memorial service, or meeting.

To conclude, while the most apparent transformation in Gemah was related to religion, in Ripah the ultimate change was the shift from agricultural to urbanlife. This transformation was unavoidable considering how tremendous the economic stimulus (and pressure) from the outside has been. In the agricultural domain, only the older adults and the elders still want to work in the paddy fields; the younger generation has alienated themselves from agricultural life.

The Villagers' Voices

In this section, I will elaborate the data from my primary participants. I will first discuss the findings from Gemah and then move to Ripah. I will begin with an ethnographic description of each participant and continue to discuss their linguistic repertoire. Then, I will examine the findings from the in-depth interviews by clustering the discussion into two major themes, namely (a) language and identity and (b) language

ideology. I will elaborate the discussion on language ideology into two specific themes: (a) language attitude and (b) ambivalence.

The Voices from Gemah

The participants in Gemah were three members of a family whose ancestors were among the early people who had lived in the village since before 1900. I interviewed the grandmother (Asminah), the son (Hartono), and the grandson (Sadewa). Asminah and Sadewa lived in the same house, inherited from the late sister of Asminah who passed away a few years ago while Hartono was living with his nuclear family in Asminah's house located only three houses away from Asminah's current place. Both houses were situated in the south part of the village.

I learned from Asminah that she was born in 1921, but she told me that she actually did not know exactly when she was born. She simply accepted the government officials' estimation during the census many years ago. It is common among the elderly in Indonesia to not know their actual date of birth because during the colonial period no birth certificates were issued. Government officials usually picked a date that might reflect the best estimation of the date of birth by connecting it with certain natural phenomena, such as "I was born before the volcano erupted/after the earthquake," "around the time of the big flood in this province," and so forth.

> *Jare tahun selikur ki simbok meteng aku [...] Aku mung kelingan ngono kuwi nek jaman mbiyen. Rak ra ngerti tulis-tulis.*
>
> (People) said in 1921 my mother was pregnant with me. I only remembered that.
>
> (People) did not recognize any written record (at that time).

Even though she has arguably almost reached 100 years old, Asminah still had excellent eyesight, hearing, and memory. The only physical weakness she had was that she needed a pair of walking sticks to help her walk.

Asminah's husband passed away approximately ten years ago and now she lives with her grandson, Sadewa, in her two-bedroom house. Asminah was the oldest daughter in her family. She has one surviving younger sister, but her four other sisters passed away several years ago. Her younger sister, who lives next door, comes every day to check on Asminah. Asminah's oldest son also lives very close to her, right across the street from her home. Since her daughter-in-law always prepares breakfast and lunch for Asminah before she goes to work in the morning, Asminah always spends the day at her oldest son's home.

Like other elderly women in this village, Asminah never went to school in her life, so she could not read or write in either Javanese or Indonesian.

> *Larang tur ra ono sing arep-arep sekolah. Ra ono sing do arep sekolah jaman mbiyen. Sing wong tuwo yo ra muni, sing bocah yo ra popo. Anane malah ajar bakul, ngasak, golek pari nek awak dewe durung panen. ... Mlumpuk yo keno ngo mangan ngono lho ... Nek aku ki ket mbiyen, wong buta huruf.*
>
> (School was) expensive; moreover nobody aspired to go to school. Nobody wanted to go to school. Parents did not say anything [about pursuing education] and children were just fine [with that situation]. [What the children] did was to learn to trade, work [in the paddy field], pick up the left over rice [from the neighbors' field] when our paddy field was not ready to harvest. [All the money]

> gathered [from these activities] was used to buy food ... I have been illiterate since a long time ago.

In contrast with Asminah's illiteracy, her late husband could read and write well in both Javanese and Indonesian. He was also able to write in Javanese characters. Although her late husband occasionally tried to teach her how to read and write, she was so busy taking care of her children that she had no time to learn. Asminah's husband came from a better situated family so he could go to school. After Indonesia was granted independence, he had a job working for the Indonesian government in West Java. Then, he was transferred to the capital city, Jakarta, until he retired. After her husband's retirement, Asminah and her family returned to Gemah. Two of her grown sons still live in this village, but her two daughters live in another part of Yogyakarta.

Asminah always wore simple *kain* and *kebaya*, a traditional Javanese outfit. *Kain* is a strip of unstitched long *batik* cloth and *kebaya* is a Javanese traditional long-sleeved fitted blouse. When she went out for special occasion, she chose a fancier set of *kain* and *kebaya*. Nowadays only the elderly wear this traditional outfit on a daily basis, while the younger generation wear it only for a special occasion. Sometimes on hot days, Asminah exchanges her *kebaya* for a t-shirt. She keeps her hair long and fashions it into a small bun just like other elderly female Javanese. Her sister also has the same hair style and wears the same type of outfits. However, whenever she goes out of her house, Asminah's sister wears a loose, long-sleeved blouse and covers her hair with a scarf to be religiously more appropriate. As I have mentioned earlier, the village is undergoing gradual transformation due to the inclination toward religious identity (Islam).

Although Asminah claims to be a Muslim, she told me that she does not know much about Islam because she grew up in a *Kejawen* environment. When she was a child, her parents often took her to a spiritual gathering led by a spiritual teacher, Mangunwijaya, in his residence in another part of Yogyakarta. Mangunwijaya had a lot of followers including Asminah's neighbors in the village. Her late husband was also a Muslim but was not familiar with Islam and became a practicing Muslim later in life after his retirement.

> *Mangkane aku ki le isa sholat ki yo wis dadi wong tuwa. Belajar seka sing dha isa-isa kuwi. Lha ra isa tenan. Wong pasa ya ra tau. Dadi embuh kok biyen ki simbah ki ya ngono kuwi. Simbok, ramak ki ya dha ngono kuwi. Wong kene kabeh ra ming wong tuwaku ... Nek Gemah Lor ki ket mbiyen Islam. Nek Simbah mantune ana Islam sithok, sing Gemah Lor. Bojone mbokku cilik. Bapakne Sami kuwi rak wonge Islame wo tekun banget. Dadi karo wong kaya ngene ki ya ra seneng, Simbah ki ya ra seneng ... Kaya wong pertentangan ngono lho. Yo ming kana kok sing sholat ki. Wong-wong ki dha ra ... Nek sak iki saya ... saya Islam.* That is why I could finally pray [in an Islamic way) when I am already old. [I] learned from those who knew how to pray. [In the past] I did not know how to do it. In fact, I never fasted [during Ramadan]. I have no idea why in the past all the older people were like that [not following Islam]. My mother, my father were the same. All people here were also like that, not only my parents ... In contrast, [the neighboring village] north [of this village], people were already embracing Islam back then. One of my grandparents' sons-in-law was a Muslim [from that neighboring village]. He was the husband of my aunt. He was a pious Muslim. So

> he seemed to not like people like us while my grandparents did not like people like him either. Thus [there seemed to be] a sort of disagreement. So only people in that area prayed. People here did not [pray]. Nowadays, [people in this village are] more ... more Islamic.

Asminah's statement above supported Sadewa's and Ratna's opinions about the villagers' positive attitude toward Islam. Even though Asminah claimed to now know how to pray, during my observation I learned that she was more into a syncretic Islam, *Abangan* (see Chapter 1). By contrast, her sister was more inclined to a more "pure" version of Islam, changing the way she dressed, praying in accordance with Islamic rules, regularly praying in the mosque, participating in religious gatherings, and even becoming a follower of Syafi'i.

The second primary participant was a male villager in his early fifties named Hartono, Asminah's youngest son. Hartono lives with his wife and teenaged son Rayhan in Asminah's house located three houses away from Asminah's current home. His daughter, who is already married and just had a baby, lives on another island with her own family. Hartono was born and grew up in a small town, Bogor, in West Java. When he was a teenager, his father moved to Jakarta with the entire family. Upon completion of his vocational secondary education, Hartono did not continue to college because of financial issues. Thus, he chose to work for a couple of years in Jakarta. After his father retired, the family moved back to the village. Hartono's wife was also originally from Gemah but, unlike Hartono, she never lived outside the village.

Both Hartono and his wife work hard every day to be able to send their only son to college. Hartono works as a personal assistant for a wealthy Javanese merchant who

owns a *Batik* factory while his wife works in a nearby gas station. He usually leaves home in the morning at 8 a.m. and returns in the evening. However, because of the nature of his job, he must be ready anytime his boss needs him even if Hartono is already at home. He often works weekends. Because of that, his wife, Widya, is mostly in charge in doing the household chores and taking care of their only son's academic needs. Widya works the day shift for half of the week and the night shift for the other half. Despite his tight schedule, Hartono actively participates in the village's activities as a member of the committee in the breadwinner organization. Likewise, his wife is also active in the women's organization as well as in the Javanese traditional opera club.

As a person who only had a high school diploma, Hartono expects his son not to have the same fate. Therefore, he and his wife, who also never went to college, work hard to realize their dream by providing a good education for Rayhan. When Rayhan was a little boy, Hartono and his wife did not send him to a kindergarten in the neighboring village; instead, they chose a school in the city of Yogyakarta, far from Gemah. They did the same thing for Rayhan's elementary and secondary educations. According to Hartono, this practice was not common among the villagers, who usually chose a nearby school because of transportation and financial issues. Indeed, Hartono and Widya were fully aware of these but they believed that the schools in the city had better facilities, better qualified teachers, and better students. In addition, Rayhan would receive the positive influence from his friends who mostly came from well-educated families. To fund their son's education, Hartono and Widya could not rely solely on their small salary. They received a significant financial contribution from Hartono's boss. Rayhan is now enrolled in a good private Islamic middle school in the city. According to Hartono, a religious-

based school was best for his son to protect him from the current moral degradation among the young generation. Moreover, he expected Rayhan to sharpen his competitive skills because the students of this school were high achievers while at the same time the school offered academically stimulating materials.

The last participant, Sadewa, is a male in his early thirties who used to live with his parents in a rural village approximately 15 miles away from this village before moving to Gemah upon the completion of his secondary education to find a job. His father was a retired police officer and his mother, Asminah's youngest daughter, was a full-time homemaker. Despite his father's good occupation, Sadewa grew up in poverty because his parents had enormous debt problems. As a result, he and his siblings received financial assistance from their close relatives to pay for their school tuition and supplies. Another consequence of this financial hardship was that Sadewa could not continue to higher education even though he was an intelligent student. He first got a job in a leathercraft factory located two miles from the village in 2004. After several years working for the factory, he was laid off along with all other employees because the owner declared bankruptcy. Then, he worked for a travel agent whose office branch was located on the north side of the village, but in early 2012 he was transferred by this transportation company to another branch in the city of Yogyakarta.

Sadewa has been living with his grandmother, Asminah, since he moved to this village in 2003. His hard work enabled him to buy a motorcycle. He also collaborates with his father to cultivate freshwater fish farming in his father's village. He is busy working from Monday to Saturday nine to five and on Sunday he sometimes goes to check on his fish farm. Like Hartono, Sadewa's commitment to his work does not hinder

his involvement in the village's activities. When he was still in his twenties, he was active in the youth organization and even held a position as the Co-Chair. Right now he is not part of any village organizations because he feels too old to join the youth organization whose members are teenagers and young adults and too young to join the breadwinner organization. He told me that in this organization the members are all married men and the majority are in their forties or older. This makes him uncomfortable to participate in it. Nevertheless, whenever the village carried out any activities, Sadewa without any hesitation would lend a hand. To date, Sadewa has been serving as a committee member for the village mosque for five years and in charge to carry out Islamic events.

Linguistic repertoires. Understanding an individual's linguistic repertoire is crucial for this dissertation because linguistic repertoire represents the participant's sociopragmatic and sociolinguistic competence as well as linguistic practices in his or her speech community. Indeed, according to Gumperz (1964), a person's linguistic repertoire cannot be separated from his or her background and social context; that is, any decisions made with regard to linguistic choices are always subject to the social conventions and politeness which guide the culturally and socially appropriate forms. "The social etiquette of language choice is learned along with grammatical rules and once internalized it becomes a part of our linguistic equipment. Conversely, stylistic choice becomes a problem when we are away from our accustomed social surroundings" (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138). The first part of Gumperz's statement has to do with a speaker's linguistic competence at phonetic, morphologic, and syntactic levels, but I do not focus on these in this dissertation. The second part is more relevant for my research, specifically the statement "when we are away from our accustomed social surroundings," which can be

interpreted as alienation from one's mother tongue and not necessarily geographically moving away from one's origin.

For Asminah, the most important language for her day-to-day communication was Javanese and in fact this was the only language she used due to her limited physical ability to move. Most of the time she just stayed at home and only interacted with her relatives and neighbors who were all Javanese. Seeing a doctor for a check-up was one of the few opportunities to use Indonesian. Nevertheless, she still connected to the Indonesian language regularly through the medium of TV when she watched Indonesian soap operas. But her competence in Indonesian was impeccable just like the majority of people in Indonesia nowadays who at least are bilinguals.

Throughout the interview sessions with Asminah, I always used Javanese *Ngoko Alus*. She responded to me in Javanese *Ngoko Lugu*. I consciously chose *Ngoko Alus* because I have known her well since I was a child. Moreover, she was very close to my relatives. Therefore, to use a formal form of Javanese seemed to negate our relationship. However, by considering her seniority in terms of age, I used *Ngoko Alus* to highlight my respect for her. Based on my observation, I found that she always used Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* with everyone she knows. Because she was the oldest female in the village, she claimed the highest position in the village's hierarchy, leading everyone to use a more polite form of Javanese such as *Krama* or *Ngoko Alus*. For example, I used *Ngoko,* which is an informal form of Javanese, but I selected *Ngoko Alus*.

When I asked her how she acquired the formal Javanese *Krama*, she said that when she was a child, all children always heard their parents communicate with others in *Krama*. Children had to use *Krama* when speaking to their parents and other older people

whether they were relatives or not. Thus, she learned by doing when she was a little girl. This was a dramatic contrast to what the young generation exhibit today. Her son and daughters as well as her grandchildren all use *Ngoko Lugu* when talking to her. Young people in the village who were her relatives also present almost the same linguistic choice when having a conversation with her although they select *Ngoko Alus*. Few who were adults or older adults opt to use *Krama*. She felt that in the past the relationships between older people and their younger offspring were formal and distant. For example, children did not dare to eat when their parents had not eaten yet. They had to wait until their parents finished eating. Once they were done, the children would have whatever was left on the table. Likewise, when the children wanted to drink tea, they had to wait until the father had it first, then the mother. Furthermore, when her father instructed the children to do something, nobody dared to ask why.

Now the relationship between parents and children is so close that children could tell their parents anything. She also added that nowadays it is the parents who receive the leftovers. However, she sometimes feels that some younger people are now rude to the older ones by not using the appropriate Javanese. For example, she came across her grandsons' friends whom she knew very little, but they spoke to her in *Ngoko Lugu*. For her this was so unacceptable that she strongly warned them to speak more politely. Because of this incident, these boys now avoid hanging out with her grandsons whenever she is around. She also complained about modern parents who fail to teach their children appropriate Javanese manners, parents in the past who were very strict to pass on Javanese politeness to their children.

Just like other elderly people in the village, Asminah was also a fluent speaker of Indonesian. She first came in contact with Indonesian when she moved to Bogor, West Java to follow her husband who worked for the Old Order government in the early 1950s. She never learned the language formally but acquired it through natural communication. Her husband occasionally taught her Indonesian at home, but most of the time Asminah had to independently learn it. At first Asminah was worried, anxious, and hesitant to start speaking Indonesian due to her limited competence but she had no other choice if she wanted to survive within and beyond home. For example, her Sundanese house maid who helped her with household chores only knew Indonesian and Sundanese. Similarly, grocery shopping or meeting with her children's teachers required her to use Indonesian. Her neighbors knew that she could not speak Indonesian, so they did not mind her broken Indonesian. Over time, her Indonesian improved very much.

Bogor is a small town two hours' drive from Jakarta, but even in the 1950s it was already common for people in Bogor to use Indonesian in addition to the local language, Sundanese. Because Sundanese was still widely used in this region, Asminah also learned to speak Sundanese by interacting with her Sundanese house maid. Knowing Sundanese also helped her to make friends with the neighbors who were mostly Sundanese speakers, even though they could speak Indonesian well too.

Within the home domain, the primary language of communication was Javanese to accommodate Asminah's lack of Indonesian during her first year living in Bogor. To their father, her children used both Indonesian and Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* because their father spoke Indonesian well and did not mind responding in Indonesian. The policy of speaking Javanese at home was maintained even when Asminah had reached advanced

fluency in the national language in order to keep their native language alive even when they were far away from home in Yogyakarta.

> *Nek karo aku da basa Jawa wae. Lha nek ra wong tuwane ngajari ngono njut karo wong ki njut ra isa basa Jawa.*
>
> To me they used Javanese. If parents do not teach them [Javanese], they will not be able to communicate with others in Javanese.

Because formal Javanese is complicated to learn, the children used Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* to their parents and vice versa, while Asminah spoke to her husband in Javanese *Krama* as a symbol of respect to the head of the family. In contrast, her husband used Javanese *Ngoko Alus* when talking to Asminah. As a part of a generation growing up in the pre-Independence period, both Asminah and her late husband were still strongly influenced by Javanese gender stratification which positioned men at the top of the pyramid. This attitude was reflected by their linguistic choice of using different forms of Javanese to signal hierarchical distinction between men and women.

Asminah and her late husband never encouraged their children to learn Javanese *Krama*. She said it was up to them whether they wanted to learn or not. Because of this loose policy with regard to formal Javanese maintenance, her sons and daughters found it difficult to use it when they finally moved to Yogyakarta. According to Asminah, even now their children cannot speak *Krama* correctly and their *Krama* sounds rough. They still speak *Ngoko Lugu* as well to her. Interestingly, her grandchildren use *Ngoko Lugu* with her but with other older people they choose *Krama* or *Ngoko Alus*. The fact that her grandchildren were born and grew up in this village surrounded by Javanese speakers helped them easily acquire Javanese *Krama* to communicate with their elders. Asminah

indicated that her grandchildren chose *Ngoko Lugu* to communicate with her to show their closeness and arguably to follow their parents' linguistic practices when speaking to Asminah. Asminah's children talk to each other in Indonesian. Even now, whenever these siblings meet, the conversation is held in Indonesian, never in Javanese. Outside the home, Asminah's children mainly use Indonesian for daily communication and Sundanese to be close with their Sundanese-speaking friends in Bogor.

From Hartono I learned that apart from interaction with his peers, Hartono and his siblings knew Sundanese from school because Sundanese was a mandatory subject in all schools in West Java. Hartono did not have any difficulties at all to use Indonesian and Sundanese beyond the home domain then switch to Javanese at home. In the mid-1970s, the family moved to Jakarta and returned to the village in the early 1980s. Due to his life experience living in West Java and Jakarta, Hartono exhibits slightly different linguistic practices as opposed to his mother. Hartono always speaks in Indonesian whenever he converses with his grown-up siblings, regardless of the topic of the conversation. Even when he talks to them via phone or text, he always uses Indonesian. Indonesian is also the language that he mentioned first when I asked him to mention languages he could speak: *Bahasa Indonesia jelas.* "Indonesian language of course."

Indonesian is also his primary choice to communicate outside the home and village domains. At his home, Javanese (*Ngoko Lugu*) is the primary means of communication for Hartono, his wife, and his son. At work Hartono speaks to his boss in *Ngoko Alus* and Indonesian because he is not competent in formal Javanese. When I asked whether his boss minds Hartono's linguistic choice, Hartono said that his boss was fine when he used *Ngoko Alus* because *Ngoko Alus* was still considered polite. Likewise,

Indonesian may convey the impression of respect and politeness. The strategy used by Hartono to turn to Indonesian due to his lack competence in Javanese *Krama* is common among Javanese speakers as reported by Poedjosoedarmo (2006): "Many people, aware that they are not very competent at manipulating the levels, simply use the Indonesian language instead of Javanese in contexts where it is necessary to be formal and polite" (p. 117).

For interaction with other villagers, especially those who were of the same age or older, Hartono selects Indonesian with occasional switch-code to Javanese *Krama*. When I observed him having a conversation with his peers in the village, I remembered Asminah's comments about her children's formal Javanese competence and I could not agree more with her that Hartono formal Javanese was not fluent. In fact, Hartono admitted to me that his Javanese *Krama* was rather poor because he acquired it "autodidactically." This was the term he used to describe the way he learned formal Javanese through interaction with neighbors or hearing his parents use *Krama* at home when his mother spoke to his father. When I interviewed him, most of the time he also answered my questions in Indonesian even though at first I interviewed him in Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* and Indonesian. It is worth noting that I used *Ngoko Lugu* because my family has known him well since the time we lived in the village. Hartono also mentioned his ability to speak basic English although he does not use it for daily communication. Instead, he sometimes borrows English words to communicate on social media or to understand new English terms on the Internet. When foreign tourists come to his boss' office to ask about *Batik* (a technique to decorate a fabric using wax and dye), Hartono would try to speak in English even though he is not fluent.

Sadewa presented almost the same linguistic repertoire as Hartono by using mainly Indonesian at work and Javanese in the village. At work, Sadewa uses only Indonesian with customers because he works in the ticketing department which requires him to interact directly with customers. Sadewa also chose Indonesian to talk to his boss and colleagues who are not Javanese. Likewise, the medium of communication in office meetings is also Indonesian. However, Sadewa is more comfortable conversing in Javanese (*Ngoko Lugu*) with his Javanese colleagues and occasionally mixing in Indonesian words. In general, outside home and the village, Sadewa prefers Indonesian. Within the home domain, he always uses Javanese (*Ngoko Lugu*) to speak with his grandmother, close relatives (including parents and siblings), and distant relatives. With people of his age or younger in the village, Sadewa selects Javanese *Ngoko Lugu*, though in mosque committee meetings, he and other members of the committee prefer Indonesian because the nature of the occasion is considered formal.

His preference to use *Ngoko Lugu* with people in his generation was clearly presented during the interviews since Sadewa and I come from the same generation. We also know each other well. Even though he is aware of the fact that the interviews would be used for a dissertation research project, he perceived our sessions as casual events because he knew me well and felt comfortable. Since the interview questions were about his life history related to his Javanese identity, the activity seemed to be like a casual conversation with a friend talking about his life. Sadewa borrowed some Indonesian words when he explained about educational terms, religious, or work-related activities.

Unlike Hartono, who tried to minimize the use of Javanese *Krama* because of his low proficiency, Sadewa finds it less difficult to speak in *Krama* and always uses it

whenever he meets with or runs into older people in the village. Nevertheless, he admitted that his proficiency in *Krama* is just fair, although not poor like Hartono's, because his parents never encouraged him to speak it. Thus, he mainly learned it in school or independently acquired it through interaction with the older neighbors the village. This confirmed Asminah's previous statement that her grandchildren's Javanese proficiency is better than her children's because the grandchildren were born and raised in Yogyakarta.

To sum up, the linguistic repertoire of this family gradually changed over the course of three generations. When Asminah was still a young girl, Javanese *Krama* was the primary means of communication at home with the parents and outside the home domain to communicate with older people, while her siblings would use Javanese *Ngoko Lugu*. When Asminah was married, the home Javanese became *Ngoko Lugu* because their children did not master the Javanese *Krama*, whereas with her husband she would converse in *Krama* although her husband would respond in *Ngoko Lugu* due to gender hierarchical rules. Outside the home domain, Indonesian was the most important language for her. Likewise, Indonesian was the most important language beyond home and village for the children's and grandchildren's generation. Unlike the young Asminah who always spoke Javanese *Krama* at home, Hartono and Sadewa mainly used Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* as their home language. In addition, both Hartono and his nephew exhibited a (much) lesser competence in Javanese *Krama* than Asminah did. Beyond home, for Hartono and Sadewa, Indonesian was placed in the first position while Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* was the second.

Being a Javanese. For Asminah, being a Javanese primarily required her to act Javanese. She expressed her opinion about how young generation of Javanese today did not act properly in Javanese ways. With regard to this, she gave me an example of a male villager who lived quite well in Jakarta. Every time he returned home during the holiday season to see his parents, he refused to greet the villagers. Furthermore, he did not make time to see his older neighbors or hang out with the villagers who used to be his childhood friends. Asminah told me that this man did not act like a Javanese, whose primary character must be humble, friendly, and respectful. She also said that the young generation did not listen to their parents anymore while in her time young people would be more obedient and show respect to older people. In addition, in the past parents taught their children to work hard and to persevere from the time they were very young. For instance, Asminah and her siblings had to leave their feet uncovered when they slept at night even when the weather was cold. According to the Javanese elders, that was a way to learn to fight against all obstacles in life; someone was used to living comfortably as a young child would not grow up to be a strong person. According to Asminah, nowadays all young generations are used to living comfortably, so they have become weak, have little perseverance, and always want to get something instantly without making serious effort.

With regard to language use, Asminah complained about how the young generation are less polite to older people. For instance, some friends of her grandsons (the children of her oldest son) did not greet her when they came over to see her grandsons. They also did not use an appropriate form of Javanese when they spoke to her. In the previous section I mentioned how unhappy she was to come across a female teenager

who used inappropriate Javanese forms with her. From her stories, I could clearly see that the practice of being Javanese is being left behind along with the decrease in competence in the Javanese language. This was in line with Arka's findings (2013) on language shift among the indigenous people in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. He found that generally it is the elderly who are more aware of the impacts of language shift on the young generation's manners.

For Hartono and Sadewa, being a Javanese meant simply to have Javanese blood. As long as at least one of the parents was Javanese, someone could call himself or herself a Javanese. According to Hartono and Sadewa, being able to speak the language, maintaining the tradition, or presenting Javanese mannerss must not become a standard to label a person Javanese or not. Their statement is relevant with Chandra's definition (2012) concerning ethnic identity that descent-based attributes are a prerequisite for ethnicity. However, Hartono and Sadewa indicated that the Javanese people who did not maintain their language and culture were culturally less Javanese although ethnically they were Javanese. Furthermore, those who could use Javanese speech levels fluently and exhibit excellent Javanese mannerss might be "ideal Javanese." However, in this era it is difficult to fulfill this role because the world has changed dramatically. Sadewa pointed out the fact that Indonesian is the national language which everyone must master as an academic and a professional language as well as an intra-ethnic means of communication. Hartono also mentioned that poor manners are not correlated with shifting language loyalty but are due to negative influences of modern life which lead the young generation to be less religious. Therefore, it is religiosity which could maintain good manners, politeness, and respect and at the same time heal social illnesses in society. In short, both

Hartono and Sadewa stated that to be a Javanese, a person must come from a Javanese family. Not maintaining the language and culture would make a person culturally less Javanese, but he or she was still a Javanese.

Language attitude and ambivalence. Unravelling the participants' attitude towards their mother tongue is instrumental to answering the third research question of this study: how has the Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the language ideology of Javanese speakers? The overall findings aligned with those of Messing (2009), who reported ambivalence among the Mexicano speakers in Tlaxcala, Mexico: on the one hand they perceived their native language to be important, but on the other hand they did not make real efforts to maintain it. While Messing focused her investigation on this ambivalence only among youth, I discovered that this phenomenon exists among both youth and older generations.

Asminah clearly expressed her positive attitude toward Javanese language. She recalled her time in Bogor when her Sundanese maid quit and she employed Sarti, a domestic worker from a rural area in Yogyakarta, who brought her children and husband with her to Bogor. According to Asminah, Sarti never spoke Javanese with her own children but chose Indonesian for daily communication although Javanese was their home language when they lived in Yogyakarta. Asminah simply could not understand why Sarti, a person who had never left her village before and who always used Javanese from the day she was born, refused to speak Javanese to her children. Asminah also criticized the parents in Gemah who exhibited the same attitude as Sarti. Asminah firmly believed that the linguistic choice made by Sarti and the parents in Gemah was not acceptable for a

Javanese. She even labelled them arrogant because no matter what, Javanese parents must pass on their language to their children.

> *Sok sombong rumangsaku. Wong Jawa we ndadak anake ra diajari Jawa. Nek aku Jawa. Bapak barang ya ngajari Jawa kok ya.*
>
> [They were] arrogant in my opinion. They are Javanese but they do not pass on the language to their children. For me I [speak] Javanese [to my children]. So did my [late] husband.

Asminah admitted that her children do not possess mastery of Javanese *Krama* because they had lived in West Java, but at least they could speak Javanese *Ngoko* fluently. In her opinion, it is evident that she had made real efforts to maintain Javanese at home. She added that she did not explicitly ask her children to speak Javanese to her or to make time to teach them Javanese at home but she preferred to apply implicit language policy by speaking her native language to her children without asking her children to talk back in Javanese. By doing so she hoped the children did not feel forced to use Javanese but instead they would feel encouraged to respond to her in their heritage language. I found that this strategy was effective when I learned from Hartono that when they grew up in Bogor he and his siblings usually used Javanese when speaking to their mother, whereas with their father they chose Indonesian and/or Javanese.

Asminah never taught her children Javanese *Krama* nor inserted some of its lexicons when she spoke to her children. It was not a good option for her to invest time to teach the complicated rules of Javanese *Krama* since her children did not have a chance to use it regularly because at that time they lived in a Sundanese speaking community. According to Asminah, to know Javanese *Ngoko* was sufficient to maintain Javanese

identity in the family because they were away from Yogyakarta. Interestingly, she still maintained her "policy" to not teach Javanese *Krama* to her grandchildren although her family no longer lived in West Java. When I asked the reason to not disseminate Javanese Krama to the third generation, she responded:

> *Lha mengko mah da kaget da wedi. Dibebaske wae. Lha sing gede-gede we iya e.*
> They will be shocked [if I suddenly asked them to learn *Krama* and] afraid [of the drastic change]. I let them be free [whether to learn it or not] because the grown-ups are not speaking it either.

From my observation, the atmosphere in her family was casual and free as represented by the use of Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* as the primary means of communication at home. A sudden linguistic change to Javanese *Krama* would dramatically change the ambience in her family. Despite the lack of exposure to Javanese *Krama* at home, Asminah knew that her grandchildren could speak *Krama* although they are not proficient. When I asked her where they learned it, Asminah was sure that they learned it mostly in school. Interacting with the elderly people in the village also contributed to their learning process. Hartono corroborated Asminah's statement by indicating that at home he and his wife never introduced his children to Javanese *Krama* but his children first acquired it *secara otomatis*, or "automatically," a term Hartono used to explain that his children acquired it through interaction with their elders in the village. The skills were honed in schools where his children formally learned the language. Sadewa, who represented the third generation in the family, agreed with his uncle and grandmother that home was not the first place to learn Javanese *Krama*.

To some extent Hartono and Sadewa shared the same positive attitude as Asminah toward the importance of Javanese for the Javanese people. Both of them stated that the Javanese people must know Javanese; however, the degree of knowing must not mean the mastery of all Javanese speech levels, considering that Indonesian is the *lingua franca* of the nation. Thus, speaking Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* is sufficient to represent Javanese identity. Hartono said:

> *Cukup tahu saja tapi tidak perlu mendalam. Tidak harus fasih berbahasa Jawa halus toh sekarang jarang dipakai sehari-hari. Yang penting harus bisa bahasa Indonesia karena selain itu bahasa kita juga karena bahasa Indonesia untuk omong-omongan itu kan beda sama bahasa untuk sekolah, untuk nulis, pidato, yang formal-formal lah. Lebih baku. Jadi Rayhan harus menguasai itu.*
> It is enough to simply know but no need to master [the language]. [We] do not have to be proficient in refine Javanese for now it is rarely used [in] daily [communication]. The most important thing is the mastery of Indonesian because apart from being our national language, Indonesian for casual conversation is different from the Indonesian [we learn] at school for [academic] writing, speech, for formal occasions. More standard. So Rayhan must master it (the standard Indonesian).

Sadewa said:

> *Lha yo bahasa Indonesia karo bahasa Inggris sing penting. Wong kita kan orang Indonesia. Nek Inggris walaupun aku ra iso bahasa Inggris, ning iki penting. Lha pamane neng dunia kerja ki nek ra iso bahasa Inggris ki ketoke wis dadine koyo ra pede. ... Nek neng nggon tiket sih jarang turis asing teka. Mungkin nek neng*

hotele sok sering wong asing. Nek aku nggon tiket. Itupun sing bis. Dadi ra ono wong asing. Nek sing hotel, akeh customer asing dadi mau nggak mau harus bisa. Aku ra belajar soale jarang ngono lho. Tapi nek ono sing tuku tiket trus ra iso le njawab ki ketoke rasane isin piye ngono lho.

Of course Indonesian and English are the most important. Because we are Indonesian. Although I cannot speak English this [language] is also important. For example in the workplace, if [we] cannot speak English, we'll lose our self confidence. ... Foreign tourists rarely come to the tickecting counter. I am in the ticketing division[6] for the bus. Thus no foreigners [come]. But in the hotel, there are probably many foreign customers so [the employees] must know English. I do not learn English because it is rarely used. But when [a foreigner] comes to buy a ticket and [I] do not know how to respond, I will feel embarrassed.

Just like Sadewa, Hartono expressed his positive attitude toward English. He indicated the importance of learning English in the millennium era because English is the gateway to intellectual and professional success:

Kalau saya sih maunya Rayhan itu bisa dan fasih berbahasa Inggris karena itu yang penting untuk masa depan. Dari mulai sekolah sampai perguruan tinggi itu berguna. Juga untuk karir.

I myself really want Rayhan to be able to speak and be fluent in English because that is important for his future. From [secondary] school to higher education,

[6] Sadewa works for a corporation which owns a four-star hotel and a transportation division (charter bus and inter-province shuttle bus), but he is assigned to the ticketing counter for the transportation division.

[English] is beneficial [to excel academically]. [It is] also [beneficial] for a professional career.

These findings show that ambivalence, which in the case of Mexico only existed among the youth (Messing, 2009), was apparent across generations. While Asminah did not know about the nationalism policy, the ambivalence she exhibited was evidence that even older generations are affected by one nation-one language-one culture policy. Moreover, the findings also showed that the contemporary Javanese people represented by Hartono and Sadewa are at a crossroads; that is, they have multiple identities as Indonesian and Javanese as well as being global citizens as represented by English proficiency.

The Voices from Ripah

The two participants from Ripah village were a father named Agung and his son Aditya. I intentionally selected them because their family were considered the first settlers in the village. Agung is also an active figure in the village organization including the neighborhood watch program. Since Agung's parents had already passed away, I only had the second and third generations as my participants. Agung, a husband and father in his early fifties, lives with his wife and his two sons in a four-bedroom house located very close to my parents' home. His only daughter moved to Jakarta two years ago to work in an electronics factory. His oldest son, who is in his early twenties, graduated from a local community college and works for a supermarket close to the village, where his mother also works. Agung's youngest son is a senior-year student at a state-owned university in Yogyakarta, majoring in Indonesian language education. Agung's family home was built in the then large space inherited from Agung's parents. After they passed away, Agung

and his five siblings (four brothers and a sister) divided the land equally to allow each of them to build home for their own family and boarding houses too.

Agung's late father was a farmer and his late mother owned a kiosk where she sold rice in a nearby traditional market. When they passed away, none of their children continued to work in agricultural areas. Besides owning boarding houses, they choose to work for private companies. One of Agung's brothers works for a tour and travel company whose office is located only ten minutes' walk from their home. One other brother is a teacher in a public high school, and the youngest brother is a technician for an electric company. Agung's only sister runs a small cafeteria with her husband. During the time of my fieldwork, Agung had just retired from his job after working for 22 years as a driver. His first job after graduating from high school was as a construction worker. Then, he worked for the regional government office in the department of irrigation but after working there for several years he was let go. After that, he applied for a driver position in the same tour and travel company and worked there until he retired in 2012. Agung had wanted to continue to work on his paddy field, but his job took so much of his time that he did not have a chance to realize his plan, and he ended up renting the land to someone who ran a culinary business.

Right after he retired, to make the most of his time, Agung had cultivated fresh water farming for almost one year on another piece of land he inherited from his parents. The land was near the irrigation canal so it was a good location for this activity. Since the type of fish he cultivated needed flowing fresh water every day, Agung had to check the availability of the water supply. He fed the fish with leftover vegetables which he purchased for a low price from the supermarket where his wife and son work. He also

provided special fish food which he bought from a supply store. Even though he was excited to do fish farming, he had no choice but to discontinue this activity due to two incidents. The first incident happened a few months after he started fish farming, when a lot of plastic bags blocked the irrigation pipe. As a result the distribution of water from the canal to his and the neighboring farms was halted. He was sick at the time so he did not know about it until his younger brother told him that some of the fish appeared to be floating on the water surface and looked like they were dying. According to Agung, the blockage in the irrigation pipes was caused by irresponsible people who threw garbage and plastic waste into the canal. The harmful actions of the people who threw the trash into the canal has resulted in a big loss for Agung and the other farmers.

The second incident occurred close to the time when the fish were ready to harvest and made Agung so disappointed that he finally decided to stop this activity. One morning he discovered a lot of dead fish floating in his are. Later that day he found out that his fish were dead because the water from the canal was polluted. There was a sport center which had a big indoor swimming pool close to Agung's farm. The night before, the pool was cleaned up and the water containing calcium hypochlorite (disinfectant used to treat swimming pool) was disposed of into the canal. Because of this, the canal's polluted water not only killed fish in the nearby farms but also damaged the quality of rice in the paddy field located in the vicinity of the sport center. Agung did not report this incident to the authorities because he believed it would take too much time and usually the result was not in the farmers' favor.

Sudah tiap pagi ke kolam malah ikannya pada mati! Daripada bikin stress dan buang uang dan waktu, akhirnya saya sewakan aja. Sekarang dipakai buat warung.

[I spent] every morning [to check on my] fish farming and they are dead! So [to not] make me stressed out [even more] and not to waste my money and time, I finally decided to just rent it out. Now [the land] is turned into a small restaurant.

To keep on being active and to earn additional income, Agung asked the manager of the supermarket (his wife and son's employer) to purchase the supermarket's used cardboard and waste paper at a special price. After he secured this permission, every evening he collects the paper which then he sells at a higher price to a recycling company.

Just like his father, who did not follow the footsteps of his parents to work in the agricultural sector, Aditya chose to work for that supermarket after he graduated from a community college with a major in computer programming. He had been working there for three years and did not plan to apply for another job in the near future although his current position was not related to computer programming. He is satisfied with the amount of salary he receives every month. Because he could earn his own money, Aditya spends it on branded sport shoes, an original jersey of an English football team he likes, the latest mobile phone, electronic tablet, and so forth. His father, who was not happy about his shopping habits, told me about his disagreement during an interview when Aditya was not present.

... tiap ada hp seri baru trus ganti. Lha itu beli sepatu-sepatu bola kayak gitu, itu mahal-mahal banget. Kapan itu beli sepatu sejuta lebih! Cuman buat sepatu! Sudah kerja lama tapi ga punya tabungan. Beda sama adiknya yang di Jakarta

itu. Walaupun harus ngekos, hidup sendiri, tapi bisa punya tabungan. Bisa beli motor segala. Itu motornya Aditya itu kan saya yang belikan. Beda ya kalo perempuan lebih bisa mengatur uang. Mungkin nanti kalo sudah nikah si Aditya bisa hemat. Ada yang membantu ngatur uangnya.

... every time a new model of mobile phone is launched, [he will] change [the old one to the new one]. Look at those football shoes, those are very expensive. Last time he bought [football] shoes for one million rupiah! Just for shoes! He has been working for quite a while but he has no savings. [He is] different from his younger sister who is in Jakarta. Although she has to live in a boarding house, lives [in Jakarta] by herself, she saves [the money she earns]. She could buy herself a motorcycle. That motorcycle that is Aditya's, I bought it for him. This is the difference [between women and men]. Women can manage money better. Maybe when Aditya is married one day, he can be frugal. There is [the wife] who will help him manage the money.

Agung's statement above with regard to his idea of gender roles assigning female to be a role model to manage money aligns with Smith-Hefner's findings (1998) about the role of Javanese women within the family domain to present exemplary behavior. Aditya indeed likes to spend his money on expensive goods. When I met him on another occasion, Aditya talked about a pair of football shoes advertised by his favorite players he saw in a Singapore-based online shop. They would cost him more than two hundred dollars if he bought them online. So he asked me for a favor to help him buy the same shoes in America in case they were cheaper. I was so shocked to learn about the price that I asked him once again whether it was two hundred dollars or twenty dollars. Based on

my observation, the young generation in this village showed similar behavior as Aditya as they liked to follow the latest global trends. This is evidence that globalization has influenced village life and has changed the intergenerational value from frugality to consumerism.

Linguistic repertoires. I interviewed Agung and Aditya at different times in order to get thorough information from each of them. When I started the interviews, I greeted them in Javanese before explaining about my dissertation project. When I explained my research and gave them the consent form, I also used Javanese. I assumed if I used Javanese, in return I would have received responses in Javanese, but they preferred to speak in Indonesian throughout the interviews. However, right after I turned off my digital voice recorder, they switched to Javanese just like usual. I usually use Javanese *Krama* when talking to Agung because he is the same age as my mother. He usually responded in Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* or *Ngoko Alus*. Aditya and I would use Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* to speak to each other. This triggered my interest to understand the linguistic repertoire of Agung and Aditya within and beyond the family domain.

For both father and son, Javanese (specifically *Ngoko Lugu*) was their primary language they use at home. During the time when Agung was young, he always used Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* to talk to his late parents and so did his siblings. Furthermore, his parents never ordered nor encouraged their children to use Javanese *Krama* or at least Javanese *Ngoko Alus* when talking to them. According to Agung, to talk to his parents in refined Javanese would be awkward because it would create a formal atmosphere as well as distance between parents and children. The fact that his family came from a low/middle class socioeconomic level, not the *Priyayi* class, made his parents less

concerned about promoting Javanese *Krama* at home. However, Agung remembered that in the past with their older neighbors they always used Javanese *Krama* as this was the custom in Javanese society. Although his parents never taught him and his siblings Javanese *Krama*, they somehow acquired it through interaction with their neighbors and listening to their parents when the parents talked in *Krama* to guests or elderly people. Furthermore, in the 1960s when Agung was a child, it was still common to use Javanese *Krama* beyond the home domain. As a result, he was accustomed to hearing it everywhere he went.

Just like his late parents, Agung never asked his children to use Javanese *Krama* at home nor taught it to them because he felt that the refined form creates a distant atmosphere between parents and children. Moreover, he believes that the young generation now live in a totally different era which allows them to meet people from all parts of Indonesia and even other countries. Thus, Javanese *Krama* in daily communication is not relevant anymore. Nevertheless, he believed that to know this form is important for a Javanese. He admitted that unlike in the past when everyone seemed to master Javanese *Krama*, his children's proficiency in it is low. When he heard his sons or his daughter choose incorrect words in Javanese *Krama*, he would correct them right away. Moreover, he always reminded them to be polite with others, especially older people. According to Agung, it is fine for his children to not use *Krama* with him and his wife, but he expected them to make an effort to use *Krama* although their proficiency was limited. Agung added that it was fine for him that his children were not good speakers as long as they tried.

Aditya never cared about whether his parents taught him Javanese *Krama* or not. This issue never even crossed his mind. Therefore, he looked puzzled when I asked him whether he ever looked for the answers on his parents' language policy.

Nggak pernah nanya. Malah gak kepikiran sama sekali tuh.

I never questioned why. It never even occurred to me [to have such questions].

Aditya primarily learned *Krama* in school from the time he was in elementary school until high school. When he was in elementary school, he found it difficult to memorize the vocabulary in Javanese *Krama*, which is totally different from its *Ngoko* counterpart. He also did not have a chance to practice it intensively as it was not used at home. To this day, he feels that his proficiency in Javanese *Krama* is inadequate; however, he is not concerned about it because Indonesian has replaced *Krama* for wider communication. In fact, he stated that this was the language which he and everyone else must master.

Beyond the home domain such as in the neighborhood or at work, Agung and Aditya mostly use Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* because their social network is mostly composed of Javanese people. Both also feel more comfortable speaking in Javanese (*Ngoko*) to their Javanese friends. However, they strongly believe that the role of Javanese for wider purposes of communication has been replaced by Indonesian. Therefore, Javanese like them must know when to choose the right code. In response to this, Agung and Aditya had one rule concerning which language they would select in a conversation: it depended on to whom they speak, the language which their interlocutors used, or the occasion of the conversation. After I learned about this policy, I finally understood why they chose to use Indonesian throughout the interview sessions. Interviewing for data collection for research was perceived as a formal occasion.

Therefore, the most appropriate code for this was Indonesian. This reminded me of Sumarto, a prominent figure in Gemah village, who chose to use Indonesian throughout the interview despite his mastery of Javanese because of the same reason.

Being a Javanese. Agung and Aditya's perceptions about being a Javanese were similar to those of the Gemah village participants who claimed that mastery of Javanese does not necessarily make someone a real Javanese. For them, the basic pre-requisite for being a Javanese is to be of Javanese descent. While speaking Javanese fluently might make someone a good Javanese speaker, it does not make them a more authentic Javanese than one who has low proficiency in their native language. Like Hartono, Agung thinks that the most important thing about being a Javanese is to have Javanese mannerss because Javanese mannerss are now the only indicator of Javanese identity since the language has lost its role in contemporary Javanese society. It is also easier to pass on Javanese mannerss because parents can simply give real examples in their daily interactions within the family domain. When I asked how to express respect to others, especially the elderly, if we did not know the refined Javanese anymore, Agung argued that Indonesian could replace *Krama* or we could mix Indonesian with some *Krama* words.

Unlike his father, who believes that Javanese mannerss are still a relevant parameter for identity, Aditya clearly indicated that Javanese descent was the only criterion to identify someone as a Javanese. He did not see the relationship between the mastery of language or mannerss and Javanese identity. Aditya added that a foreigner may learn and can master the language but could not be called a Javanese. Moreover, to present good manners does not always mean to be a real Javanese. Anyone could be well

or ill-mannered depending on their personality not their ethnicity because mannerss are universal. I asked him the same question I asked his father about Javanese manners expressed through Javanese speech level. His answer was the same as Agung's opinion that the position of Javanese language for wider communication in contemporary Javanese society had been replaced a long time ago by Indonesian. Aditya's statement reminded me of Sadewa's opinion that the only criterion to label someone a Javanese is their family origin, whether or not a person comes from a family of Javanese descent.

Language attitude and ambivalence. Agung and Aditya displayed the same language attitude and ambivalence as their counterparts in Gemah. In their opinion, Javanese carried two differing roles, namely as a symbol of ethnicity and as a medium of communication. Due to these differing roles, their language attitude changes accordingly. Agung and Aditya did not hesitate to state that Javanese is an important symbol of their ethnic identity and because of that learning the language was unquestionably crucial. However, the notion "learning" for them was limited within the classroom walls since the school was a more ideal place to disseminate Javanese knowledge than home. Moreover, school is equipped with competent human resources and adequate supporting facilities. Agung and Aditya added that the significant role of the school to pass on Javanese was acknowledged by the government in its regulations and curriculum. Interestingly, however, neither Agung nor Aditya knew whether Javanese is still taught in school. Agung said, *Kayaknya sekarang sudah nggak ada ya pelajaran bahasa Jawa?* ("Probably Javanese language subject is not present anymore [in schools]?"), and Aditya asked, *Emang masih ada?* ("Does [Javanese language as a subject] still exist [in school]?"). They also did not see the urgency to increase the number of teaching hours

for Javanese language class. Their argument was that adding the hours would make it difficult to accommodate other important subjects in daily teaching and learning schedules. Lastly but most importantly, the objective of Javanese language teaching should be simply to make students know the symbol of their identity There was no need to become proficient in Javanese because its socio-economic value has diminished. Therefore, one meeting per week was deemed sufficient.

Because of its diminishing socioeconomic value, both Agung and Aditya bluntly expressed negative attitude towards Javanese as a means of communication. Agung stated,

> *Makin sedikit pakai bahasa Jawa ataupun lebih milih ke bahasa Indonesia itu hal biasa. Pergaulan anak muda kan makin luas. Itu hal biasa lah. Nggak perlu dibesar-besarkan. Memang saya inginnya anak-anak bisa bahasa Jawa terutama yang halus. Tapi semuanya kan terserah anaknya. Kalau nggak mau belajar ya sudah.*
>
> The fact that speakers of Javanese are decreasing or people are shifting to Indonesian is a common thing. The young generation has broad social networking. That is really common. We do not need to exaggerate that. It is true I want my children to be able to speak Javanese, especially the refined type. But it all depends on them. If they do not want to learn it, it is okay.

According to Agung, the language shift was a natural phenomenon which everyone could not avoid because change is a part of the life cycle. Moreover, when a language can no longer meet the socioeconomic needs of its speakers, people must move on. He also pointed out that even though Javanese *Krama* is losing its speakers, *Ngoko* is still widely

spoken. Therefore, to perceive shifting language loyalty as a threat to the existence of Javanese is an exaggeration. It is true on the one hand that he aspired for his children to be fluent in all speech levels of Javanese, but on the other hand he feels he must be realistic about the changes in the modern world and let his children be free to decide.

In a similar vein, Aditya also expressed his negative language attitude by pointing out the insignificant value of Javanese for education and professional domains:

> *Masalahnya untuk karir ga ngaruh. Yang penting kan bahasa Indonesia sekarang karena semua orang pakai itu juga karena kita orang Indonesia. Jaman sekarang lebih penting belajar bahasa Inggris. Itu penting buat daftar kerja.*
>
> The thing is, Javanese is not beneficial for a career. Indonesian is more important of course because everyone speaks it, because we are Indonesian. For this era, it is more beneficial to learn English than local languages. English is instrumental to apply for a job.

Both Agung and Aditya also showed their support for mastering Arabic instead of Javanese. For Agung, his children unquestionably needed Arabic because of their religious affiliation. Proficiency in Arabic reading and writing will tremendously contribute to his children's daily religious performance. He was proud that when she still lived with him his daughter taught children to read the *Qur'an* in a nearby mosque. He also expressed his gratitude that his other children did not have difficulty reading Arabic. He was fully aware that Arabic learning for his children was not intended to make them fluent in Arabic for daily conversation. This was the liturgical language of Arabic needed to read the *Qur'an*. Likewise, Aditya exhibited a more positive attitude towards learning Arabic than Javanese, especially because he went to an Islamic middle school where

mastery of Arabic was encouraged. He mentioned the need for students to know Arabic whether they went to public or Islamic schools because there was a test to read and write some verses in the *Qur'an* and daily prayers in the final exam for the senior students. In addition, there were always religious events in school such as reading the *Qur'an* together during Ramadan. To stutter over reading *Qur'an* would be embarrassing when everyone else was fluent. Therefore, according to Aditya, the students would be in trouble academically and socially if they did not learn Arabic.

These statements suggest that the need to maintain religious identity outweighs the need to maintain ethnic identity. Although Javanese and Arabic do not bring economic advantage, unlike Indonesian and English, the discourse of piety and heaven strongly influences people to choose Arabic over their native language as implicitly expressed by Agung. In other words, mastery in Arabic leads to piety and piety leads to heaven. In contrast, mastery of Javanese leads to stronger Javanese identity but strong ethnic identity leads to nowhere. Furthermore, as presented by Aditya, there were no social or academic consequences for someone who did not learn Javanese. Taken with the similar opinion presented by my participants in Gemah, it is evident that liturgical Arabic has gained a stronger position in the linguistic repertoire of the Javanese people.

Summary

In this chapter I elaborated the findings from my fieldwork in two villages, Gemah and Ripah. In Gemah, where the residents were ethnically more homogeneous and where the young generation were strongly affected by the modern life, Javanese language was still the *lingua franca* for every day communication, especially *Ngoko*. However, competence in Javanese speech levels has diminished significantly across

generations as the young generation are no longer fluent in Javanese *Krama*. Moreover, Javanese language is perceived as appropriate only for daily conversations. Indonesian is deemed to be more suitable for wider purposes.

In Ripah, where rapid development as a result of urbanization has been evident since the advent of the millennium and where the residents were ethnically more heterogeneous, the primary *lingua franca* has shifted to Indonesian. In fact, Indonesian dominates in the formal domain and outside the family domain because of the presence of non-Javanese speakers. Even within the family domain, especially in families with young children, Indonesian has begun to permeate because young mothers prefer to teach Indonesian to their children as they learn to speak.

The participants in both villages indicated that Javanese language is important for their Javanese identity, but it is not the only factor that could determine someone's identity. The most important is the biological factor. That is, as long as a person came from a family of Javanese descent, she or he could claim Javanese identity. Although all participants agreed that schools were responsible to maintain Javanese language, they strongly disagreed that Javanese language should be taught more intensively in schools because the language carries no socioeconomic value. It is the mastery of Indonesian and English that is instrumental for the Javanese people in the era of globalization. In the following chapter, I will continue the discussion on Javanese language and identity at the micro level, focusing on the voices of teachers and the royalty.

CHAPTER 5

JAVANESE LANGUAGE AT THE MICRO LEVEL: VOICES OF THE TEACHERS AND THE ELITE

In this chapter, I will examine Javanese language and identity from the perspective of the teachers and the elite. It is important to incorporate their voices in this study because their cultural competence, educational background, and social roles arguably make them more observant of the language shift phenomenon. I will also investigate whether their social role as "guardians" of Javanese language and culture may influence their identity, home language policy, and language attitude. I will begin this chapter with descriptions of participants' backgrounds which include their family background, education, and career. Next, I will elaborate their linguistic repertoire and home language policy, Javanese language attitude, and their view of being a Javanese.

The Teachers

In this section, I will present the views of four Javanese language teachers in South School and North school. Each school is represented by two teachers. The two teachers of the South School, Suharti and Hastuti, have been in service for a significant number of years, while the two teachers in North school, Rahman and Nindya, are actually pre-service teachers. I did not intentionally recruit teachers whose teaching experiences were greatly varied and learned about their experience levels when I was already in the field. At first, I planned to invite Hartawan, who was my former Javanese language teacher in the North School, to take part in this study. Unfortunately, during the period of the scheduled interviews and observation, he had a serious health problem which forced him to take sick leave for a couple of weeks. Therefor, I recruited two pre-

service teachers, Nindya and Rahman, who were conducting a-three-month teaching internship in the school as one of the mandatory requirements to graduate from their program. Both were senior students at a prominent state university in Yogyakarta majoring in Javanese language education. Nevertheless, this distinct characteristic has helped me to reveal intergenerational voices of the old and young generation of Javanese language teachers.

Throughout the interview sessions, both Suharti and Hastuti chose to use Javanese *Krama* and only turned to Indonesian when they encountered vocabulary which does not have an equivalent in Javanese, especially vocabulary related to academic terms. They spoke eloquent Javanese not only during interview sessions but also over the course of my observations in South School, including when they contacted me via phone or sent text messages. Rahman exhibited a similar level of Javanese proficiency as the two senior teachers and had the same preference for using Javanese *Krama* as a medium of communication with me. Nindya was the only one who used Indonesian all the time. In the following parts, I will present the findings of each teacher in the following order: Suharti, Hastuti, Nindya, and Rahman.

Suharti

The first participant, Suharti, is a female senior teacher in her mid-fifties who has been teaching Javanese for more than thirty years. She comes from a rural area of Tirta regency and now lives in the city of Tirta. She comes from a family of farmers on both her maternal and paternal sides. Although teaching was not a common occupation in her family, Suharti and almost all of her siblings decided to pursue teaching careers. The only person who did not want to be a teacher was her brother, who decided to take a career in

law enforcement. Suharti's husband is also a teacher of Mathematics in a public middle school not far from their home. However, her son and two daughters were not interested in teaching although Suharti and her husband have encouraged them to follow their path. Their children perceive that teaching in public schools is not an appealing job due to its low salary and heavy workload. Her oldest son went to work for a mining company in Kalimantan after he earned his Bachelor degree. Her two daughters are still in college and aspire to work for multinational companies.

Suharti had always wanted to be a Javanese language teacher since she was young because of her interest in Javanese language and culture. Moreover, teaching is a highly regarded profession in the Javanese society. Therefore, after completing her education from a local middle school, Suharti attended *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG) or Teacher Education School, a special high school designed for those who were interested in pursuing a teaching career. SPG was established during the New Order period to meet the immediate need for teachers to eliminate illiteracy and spread Indonesian (Anwar, 1980; Rubin, 1977). It is important to note that SPG does not exist anymore.

In the initial years of her teaching career, Suharti worked for an elementary school for almost ten years. Then, she continued her education at Teachers' College, Yogyakarta, for two years to earn a BA (Baccalaureate) degree in 1982, which led to her promotion to teach in a rural middle school in Tirta regency. After working for this school for several years, she was transferred to South School, where she still works. In 2000 she returned to school to pursue a Bachelor's degree in Javanese language teaching at a state university in Yogyakarta and graduated in 2002.

Just like other female Muslim teachers in this school, Suharti wears a headscarf and modest clothing in line with Islamic tradition although she grew up in an *Abangan* environment where her parents and neighbors embraced the syncretic version of Islam. However, when the society became more inclined to Islam starting in the late 1990s, Suharti started to wear a headscarf. Her parents and siblings share the same positive attitude toward the Muslim way of life. Nevertheless, her parents and siblings still maintain Javanese tradition when they celebrate life events, such as weddings, births, or memorial services. In contrast, Suharti's own family has stopped practicing Javanese traditions because her husband is into a movement to purify Islam from traditional practices that are deemed not in line with the religion.

It is true that the traditional Javanese rituals to celebrate life events incorporate the reading of the *Quran*, but according to Suharti, who repeated what her husband had told her, this is only a way to make the rituals look Islamic. The truth is, she added, that the Javanese tradition is based on animism, not Islam. For example, when a person passes away, there will be memorial services carried out on the 3rd, 7th, 40th, 100th, and 1,000th day from the date he or she died. According to Suharti, although the rituals involve reciting of Islamic prayers from the *Qur'an*, this tradition is not recognized in Islam. Therefore, her husband refuses to accept invitations to such events.

Suharti sometimes feels guilty declining her relatives' invitations. On the one hand, she does not want to turn down an invitation and she actually has no problem with maintaining the tradition. On the other hand, she does not want to have arguments with her husband. To overcome this problem, Suharti usually tells him that she will go elsewhere although she actually attends these events. To not make her husband suspicious

of her whereabouts, she will stay only for a short time. Her story clearly shows that her husband is the main decision maker of the family, including the decision to make the family more religious.

Her husband is also influential in determining their children's education. For example, when her youngest daughter planned to pursue a degree in communication studies, Suharti's husband did not support her decision as he wanted her to study science or engineering. To discourage his daughter's intention to study a social science major, he threatened not to pay for her education. In Indonesia, fellowships for freshmen are very rare and student loans do not exist, so everyone relies on their parents to fund for their education including Suharti's daughter. In the end, she gave up her dream and followed her father's decision. I was curious whether Suharti or her children ever expressed disagreement with their husband and father. According to Suharti, they try not to do so in order to avoid conflicts within the family. Furthermore, she believes that husbands and fathers are the head of the family whom everyone must respect. Thus, being obedient and avoiding conflict are expressions of respect and not evidence of oppression.

> *Di dalam keluarga itu pemimpinnya cuman satu, suami atau bapak. Kalau kita mikirnya persamaan gender, itu gak akan pernah selesai urusannya. Suami itu pemimpin yang harus kita hormati. Ibaratnya kalau ada selain Gusti Allah yang boleh kita sembah, ya suami.*
>
> In a family there is only one leader, husbands or fathers. If we always think about gender equality, we will never see any end [of this issue]. The husband is the leader whom we must respect. The analogy is like this, if there is another being we are allowed to worship besides God, that should be the husband.

Her colleague, Hastuti, who happened to overhear our conversation expressed her agreement with Suharti's opinion by pointing out that now the gender equality movement is off the track as it leads women to forget their roles as an ideal wife and mother. This finding supports previous classic studies by Geertz (1960) and Smith-Hefner (1988) that the Javanese society is stratified by gender.

Linguistic repertoire and home language policy. Suharti perceives Javanese as her primary language then and now. This is the language she uses with her immediate family as well as with her parents and siblings. When she was young, the language she and her siblings used to speak to their parents was Javanese *Krama.* To this day, they still maintain the use of *Krama* whenever she visits with her parents. In contrast, she and her siblings use Javanese *Ngoko* to talk to each other. Moreover, in the rural village where she grew up, it is common for everyone to be fluent in Javanese speech levels. The demographic factor of the village, which is quite remote, has contributed to the maintenance of Javanese. This situation corroborates Giles (1977), who indicated that native language will be better maintained if its speakers live in an area far from the influence of other languages. In the case of Suharti's village, the other language is Indonesian. Although Indonesian is the most dominant language in Indonesia, exposure to it in Suharti's home village is less strong than in non-remote areas. Suharti now lives with her own family in a neighborhood where all of the inhabitants are ethnically homogeneous (Javanese). However, this neighborhood is situated in the city of Tirta. Because of that, she is not surprised that the young generation in this area are not as proficient as the older ones in applying Javanese *Krama* in conversation although they do not have difficulty speaking Javanese *Ngoko*.

Suharti's own family has a different linguistic repertoire even though Javanese still plays a significant role in the family's linguistic practices. Unlike Suharti, who chooses to use the refined Javanese *Krama* whenever she speaks with her parents, her own children in general use Javanese *Ngoko Alus* with Suharti and her husband. Suharti does not mind her children's language choice at all because the use of *Ngoko* diminishes the distance between parents and children. Furthermore, *Ngoko* is more suitable in this modern era than in her time when the relationship between parents and children was more formal and distant. Although all her children select *Ngoko* at home, they are proficient in Javanese *Krama*. Suharti is proud to tell me that her neighbors often compliment her children's good manners reflected by their fluency in Javanese *Krama* when speaking to older people. Suharti indeed makes efforts to pass on the knowledge of Javanese *Krama* to her children by giving them real examples, inserting *Krama* vocabulary regularly in their daily conversations since her daughters and son were very young to make them familiar with it.

As a Javanese language teacher, she feels responsible to pass on the knowledge of Javanese language and culture to her children through real-life application. She said that she will be embarrassed if her children struggle to use Javanese speech levels. Moreover, she and her husband will lose face if their children do not present appropriate Javanese manners because their responsibility as educators is to be role models not only in schools but also at home. While my villager participants do not make real efforts to disseminate Javanese language and culture within the home domain, Suharti's family shows a strikingly different approach. The facts that both parents are teachers and that Suharti teaches Javanese language have driven them to be more committed to pass on their

knowledge to their children. Moreover, I argue that the society expects this family to be a role model for the Javanese people because of the parents' cultural competence. This expectation is arguably absent for the villagers.

Language attitude. From my interaction with Suharti throughout my month-long data collection in South School, I can see that she holds a positive attitude toward her native language. Her eloquent speaking competence, preference to speak Javanese for day-to-day communication, and commitment to pass on the Javanese language to her children are evidence of her linguistic pride. Furthermore, her choice to be a Javanese language teacher was mainly based on her passion for Javanese language and culture. She has highly valued her native language since she was young.

This positive attitude also mirrors her optimism with regard to the future of Javanese language. Despite her concerns about the lesser fluency in *Krama* of her students now compared to her students ten years ago, she is hopeful that the Javanese language will not lose speakers because the local curriculum in Yogyakarta and two other Javanese speaking provinces, Central and East Java, require all students to take Javanese as a subject.

> *Inggih, tetap lestari amargi sak menika wonten SLTA njih pun galakaken, wonten wucalan Basa Jawi wajib njih, wonten SLTA menika. Wonten SD wonten, lajeng SMP, lan SLTA lan SMK njih. Menawi rumiyin rak namung SLTA ingkang jurusan bahasa njih ingkang wonten Basa Jawi. Sak menika sedaya. Dados pokokmen tetep optimis njih, tetep lestari.*
>
> Yes, it will be well maintained because right now even in high school it is encouraged to learn, it is even mandatory in high school. It is mandatory in

> primary school, then middle school, and high school as well as vocational high school. In the past, [for high school students] Javanese was available only for students majoring in language. Right now, it is for all. So [I do believe] it will be well maintained.

This statement indicates that she associates Javanese language maintenance with Javanese language teaching in schools. In other words, the maintenance of Javanese language is an activity that should be formally taught in school. She indeed failed to mention home language maintenance. With this perspective of associating language maintenance only with language teaching in schools, it is not surprising that my villager participants think it is the responsibility of teachers to foster Javanese in schools (see chapter 4).

Being a Javanese. Suharti is clearly proud of her Javanese identity as shown by her claim that the Javanese people are known for their manners which make them admired and respected by other ethnic groups. Furthermore, she strongly believes that the Javanese people are humble and that this significantly distinguishes them from other ethnic groups in Indonesia.

> *Tiyang Jawi menika mboten ndangak yen mlampah. Dados yen mlampah menika ndungkluk. Yen ngendika mboten bengak-bengok. Menika sejatosipun injih lambang yen tiyang Jawi menika andap asor.*
>
> The Javanese did not walk with their chin up. Instead when they walk, they always keep their face downward. When they speak, they do not speak loudly. These are indeed a symbol that the Javanese people are humble.

Because of her strong emphasis on positive character traits Suharti firmly indicates that to be a real Javanese, someone must possess the positive character traits associated with the Javanese that she described above. Descent is of course a pre-requisite condition to call someone a Javanese, but to be truly Javanese someone needs more than biological evidence. Anyone can claim to be Javanese simply because of their ancestors' ethnic background; but they will be less or even culturally not Javanese if they fail to live the Javanese way by speaking the language and displaying culturally appropriate behaviors.

Her opinion is contradictory to that of the villagers, who define Javanese identity simply as a person who has a descent-based attribute. I argue that Suharti's educational background and her role as a Javanese language teacher have a tremendous influence on her concept of Javanese identity. One of the primary elements of being a Javanese is fluency in Javanese language because the language reflects a person's manners. Her identity belief is obviously passed on to her children, who are proficient in Javanese language and often admired by others for their good manners. This belief and practice were not found among my villager participants; they do not teach their children Javanese speech levels because they do not see its importance for their children's future. In contrast, Suharti highly regards her native language and expects her children to be eloquent Javanese speakers too although she knows that Javanese is not necessarily an economically valuable language.

However, being a Javanese is not always equivalent with preserving the tradition if it disagrees with her religion. In this case, her religious identity supersedes her ethnic identity. This finding aligns with what I saw among my participants in Gemah and Ripah

villages who prioritize their religious rituals more than Javanese tradition. This finding also supports Smith-Hefner's claim (2007) that the contemporary Javanese people tend to be more inclined to Islam.

Hastuti

My second participant, Hastuti, is much younger than Suharti. She is in her mid-forties and has been teaching Javanese for more than twenty years. Before teaching in the South School, she taught in a remote area of the province of Yogyakarta for five years. After that, she was assigned to teach in South School, where she still works.

When she was in high school, she was passionate about studying English because proficiency in English would open a lot of doors, but her parents insisted that she must go to the Teachers' College instead of another well-known university in Yogyakarta although Hastuti did not want to be a teacher at all.

> *Ibu kawit awal menika "Cah wedok ki dadi guru. Okeh preine, okeh wektu nggo ngerawat anak-bojone." Ngaten menika. "Pokoke kowe kudu sekolah iki, kudu sekolahan." ... Lha kula: "Aku ra seneng." "Kudu!"*
>
> My mother always said, "Women should be teachers. [There are] a lot of breaks [in the academic year, so they] will have a lot of time to take care of their children and husband." That is what she said. "You must (go to) Teachers' College!" ... But I (replied): "I don't like it." "(But) you have to!"

In spite of her lack of interest in the teaching profession, Hastuti could not say no to her parents because she had no financial ability to execute her own plan to study English. She also did not want to be labelled rebellious if she opposed her parents. At the same time she believed that her parents were doing this out of concern for her future. This

story mirrors the power hierarchy in Javanese society that makes young people subordinate in terms of decision-making roles. In this excerpt, I found a similar practice as in Suharti's family where the father is the decision maker. This excerpt also reflects cultural rules based on gender roles that stipulate which professions are more appropriate for women. This finding corroborates what Geertz (1960) and Smith-Hefner (1988) revealed about the role of women in domestic chores.

Nevertheless, Hastuti followed her parents' suggestion to continue her study at Teachers' College but she never planned to apply to a Javanese language program. She still kept her aspiration to earn a Bachelor's degree in English teaching. Javanese was considered to be a less prestigious program where students with low scores on the university entrance exam usually ended up. Because Hastuti always excelled academically, going to a marginalized program like Javanese never occurred to her. What she did not know was that her parents had a secret plan to send her into this unpopular field of study.

> *Bapak menika kancanipun pak Subalidinata, pakar Basa Jawi, dosen Basa Jawi. Teras ngojok-ojoki Bapak menika. "Anakmu dilebokke Basa Jawa wae Pak." Ngaten. Sewau mila kula remenipun Basa Inggris justru. Pas ngisi formulir menika kaliyan Bapak pun walik. Basa Jawi rumiyin pilihan pertama, pilihan kedua Basa Inggris*.
>
> My father was a friend of Mister Subalidinata, an expert in the Javanese language, a professor in a university. He persuaded my father, "You should send your daughter to a Javanese program." But I preferred English. So, when he filled out

the application form on my behalf, he [secretly] wrote Javanese as the first option and English the second.

Hastuti did not know that her father had done something to her application. She did not even bother to re-check the form because she trusted her father. Feeling confident that she would be accepted in the English department, she proceeded directly to the admissions office to submit the application. On the day of the announcement, Hastuti was shocked to find out that she was admitted to a program to which she had never dreamed of applying. Because the Javanese language program always had the smallest number of applicants, her admission to the program was highly guaranteed considering that she was the best student in her high school. Moreover, her application form stated that the Javanese language program was her first option. Thus, even though her total score was high enough to enter the English department, she would still be sent to the Javanese language program. Her former high school's advisor was equally upset to learn that his best student was accepted in a marginalized program. He even said that Hastuti was too good for the program and because of that she must take the university entrance exam again the next year to change her major. He gave Hastuti a selection of exam preparation books to help her pass the exam in the following year.

In addition to her frustration at being admitted to a non-prestigious program, Hastuti struggled very much during her first semester. All her professors always criticized her for not knowing anything about the Javanese language. She admitted that she used to have limited knowledge about Javanese language and culture although she was born and raised in Yogyakarta by Javanese parents. Furthermore, her fluency in Javanese speech levels was only fair. As a result, she strongly considered the suggestion of her former

advisor to take the second chance in the following year. But her mother encouraged her to stay in the program because Hastuti is the only child in the family. To be a Javanese language teacher meant that Hastuti would be likely to get a teaching job in Yogyakarta. If Hastuti chose to study English, she might have found a job in another city, or worse on another island. To live away from her only daughter was something that Hastuti's mother could not bear.

To not make her parents sad, Hastuti decided to stay in the program and told herself to be grateful for whatever she had on her plate. Only a few people had the opportunity to study at that college, so why should she be upset just because she was admitted to the least favorite program? She encouraged herself to work hard to be a successful student because she believed that as long as she persevered, she would beat all challenges. She also realized that her native language must be maintained because an increasing number of young people have alienated themselves from their mother tongue. These thoughts strengthened her decision to not only stay but also excel in her class.

> *Pancen Basa Jawa perlu dilestarekke. Wong aku dewe ya wong Jawa, ra iso basa Jawa. Sewau menawi matur kaliyan eyang menika plekak-plekuk. Lajeng "Kowe ki putune wong Jawa, ra isa basa Jawa alus".*
>
> Indeed Javanese must be maintained. I am myself a Javanese but could not speak Javanese. [In the past] when I talked to my late grandparents I [used] broken Javanese. So [my grandparents said] "You are the granddaughter of Javanese grandparents, but you cannot speak the refined Javanese."

Her grandparents' comment became the final stimulus to solidify her decision to continue studying Javanese and to become a Javanese language teacher. Despite her mixed

feelings toward learning Javanese in the initial stage of her study, Hastuti became the best student in her class. She is also one of the best Javanese language teachers I have ever met.

Hastuti's statement that "I am myself a Javanese but could not speak Javanese" is commonly expressed by the Javanese, who despite speaking the language every day claim to be incapable of speaking the language. In fact, the villagers and the students whom I ran into during my fieldwork also said the same thing. This finding supports Zentz (2012), who highlights that the Javanese, especially the young generation, think that they do not speak Javanese, but what they mean is that they do not speak Javanese *Krama* well. Zentz indicated that for the Javanese people, *Ngoko* is not considered a real language but simply daily talk, while *Krama* is perceived as a language due to its refined impression and its functions for formal domains:

> *Ngoko* is thus perhaps outside of the scope of "the Javanese language", or it is simply the Javanese language of children, and thus older students, who speak *Ngoko* throughout large parts of their days, learn that they do not speak Javanese, or at least do not speak it well. (Zentz, 2012, p. 93)

Hastuti now lives with her own family in the west part of Yogyakarta, about five miles from the South School. She and her husband, who is a science teacher in a public high school, have a son in 11th grade and a daughter in 9th grade. Neither of her children is interested in learning Javanese in college for the same reasons as the young Hastuti had not been interested. However, unlike her parents, who initially forced her to choose a teaching career and to study Javanese in college, Hastuti and her husband choose to let their children decide for their future. In Hastuti's family, children have the right to

decide, while in Suharti's family it is the parents, the father in particular, who are the decision makers. Intergenerational differences between Hastuti and Suharti are probably the cause of this distinct home policy between the two families. As a person coming from a younger generation, Hastuti is arguably more supportive of the principle of freedom to choose.

Similar to Suharti, Hastuti also presents more religious behavior reflected through her outfits. She started to wear a headscarf in the late 1990s. Her family is also a pious and practicing Muslim family. Like Suharti's husband, Hastuti's husband does not agree with some Javanese traditional practices. However, he welcomes invitations from their relatives, neighbors, or colleagues when they host a traditional life event celebration. Thus, his disagreement toward the tradition which he perceives as not in line with Islam is simply expressed by not maintaining such traditions in their household.

Linguistic repertoire and home language policy. Hastuti's view and experience regarding her responsibility to pass on Javanese language and culture to her children is similar to Suharti's. Hastuti's daughter and son receive admiration from her neighbors, relatives, and colleagues for their exemplary Javanese behavior reflected by their eloquent Javanese. Just like Suharti's children, Hastuti's son and daughter also use Javanese *Krama* when they speak to older people. At home, they prefer to speak in *Ngoko Alus* to their parents. The use of *Ngoko* which fosters the atmosphere of closeness also becomes the reason for using this form at home, while the use of some *Krama* vocabulary in *Ngoko Alus* conveys an impression of being polite. Thus, this variety of Javanese enables her children to be polite yet close to their parents. Hastuti also exhibited the same linguistic repertoire when she speaks with her parents. Thus, there is no difference in the

intergenerational linguistic repertoire between Hastuti and her children. This is in contrast to Suharti, who used Javanese *Krama* with her parents but whose children choose to speak in Javanese *Ngoko Alus* to her.

I argue that demographic and intergenerational factors are the primary reason for this difference. Unlike Suharti, who used to live in a remote area and grew up in the 1960s, Hastuti lived in the city of Yogyakarta and has been exposed to Indonesian on a daily basis since she was a child. Furthermore, she did not have mastery in Javanese speech levels before she was in college. With this background, Javanese *Ngoko* was the main medium of communication at home when she was young. It is worth noting that, beyond the home domain, Hastuti's children primarily use Indonesian although they will easily switch to Javanese *Krama* when the occasion requires them to do so.

Despite her efforts to maintain Javanese language at home which are fully supported by her husband, Hastuti knows that she has to work hard to do so because outside home her children are surrounded by Indonesian-speaking domains which to some extent have impacted her children's language ideology. For example, they live in a modern housing complex where the majority of the inhabitants are well educated. Based on her casual observation in the neighborhood, her neighbors tend to have a negative attitude towards Javanese and prefer their offspring to speak Indonesian. Her observation supports Setiawan's (2000) claim that well-educated Javanese are more likely to cease using Javanese at home and replace it with Indonesian. In addition, although the number is not high, some of her neighbors are not Javanese, so Indonesian is deemed the most appropriate *lingua franca* in the neighborhood.

Language attitude. When she was young, Hastuti could not hide her negative opinion about her native language. This is a language which she associated with the outdated world and which would not take her anywhere unlike English, which would open a lot of opportunities to work in prestigious institutions. However, her educational experience has transformed her into a strong supporter of her native language maintenance. For instance, as a parent, she does her best to make Javanese the home language and to make her children proficient in its speech levels. As a teacher, her contribution is through her interactive teaching approach and the use of teaching materials which are relevant for authentic communication so the students can benefit from it in real life. That is why, when she overheard her children express a negative opinion toward other children who speak Javanese, she was upset with them and herself.

> *Lare-lare kula ngomong mekaten: "Dasar anake wong ndesa, ra nganggo bahasa Indonesia"*
>
> My children [said] something like this: "No wonder, [they are] the children of villagers, [that is why] they do not use Indonesian."

She could not believe her children's negative comments about other children who spoke in Javanese *Ngoko*, which they associated with villagers' language. In Javanese (and Indonesian) society, "villagers" are often stigmatized as people who have low educational attainment and come from low socio-economic class even though this is not necessarily true. Hastuti was in disbelief because she and her husband have always cultivated linguistic pride in their children through the use of Javanese to their parents at home and Javanese *Krama* to older people. Hastuti admitted that it is hard in this modern era for

parents to maintain their children's positive attitude toward Javanese because the language is clearly losing its value in the eyes of the younger generation of Javanese.

Hastuti's children's remarks about their Javanese-speaking peers indicated their negative attitude toward speakers of Javanese, specifically *Ngoko*. This finding aligns with Zentz's (2012) observation that it is the Javanese *Krama* that is perceived as a full-fledged language, whereas *Ngoko* is simply daily talk. Moreover, this finding also supports Setiawan (2013), who indicates that Javanese children view Javanese speakers negatively by labelling them "poor and village-like" (p. 320). Despite this unfavorable experience, Hastuti shares a similar positive opinion with Suharti that Javanese will not be extinct. She believes that the young generation will still love their language as long as parents and teachers do not give up trying to foster their linguistic loyalty.

Being a Javanese. For Hastuti, the meaning of being a Javanese does not simply mean that someone has Javanese blood. To come from a family of Javanese descent is of course a basic condition for Javanese identity. However, to be a true Javanese, a person must act Javanese through the mastery of Javanese speech levels because the Javanese people are known for their good manners reflected by their eloquent language. Although she knows that some other ethnic groups also have speech levels in their native language to express politeness, she strongly believes that the Javanese has the most rigid linguistic politeness rules. Therefore, to be a true Javanese, someone must be proficient in Javanese speech levels as they convey the impression of good manners. To be well-mannered, according to Hastuti, is a primary characteristic of Javanese identity:

> *Basa Jawi menika lak mboten namung bahasa njih. Menika lak sikap, tingkah laku, budi pekerti.*

> Javanese language is not only a language per se. It is attitudes, manners, and ethics.

Her opinion above is clearly manifested in her everyday linguistic practices at work. Hastuti intentionally chooses Javanese *Krama* to speak with Suharti, while Suharti responds in *Ngoko Alus* or sometimes in *Ngoko Lugu*. Because of the age gap between them, Hastuti selects a culturally appropriate code, in this case *Krama*, to show her respect to an older person.

Just like Suharti, Hastuti strongly believes that living in a Javanese way is an important factor to achieve a true Javanese identity. Her aspiration to achieve a true Javanese identity is also reflected by the linguistic repertoire in her home domain and her willingness to pass on Javanese to her children. Similar to Suharti, religious identity is also prioritized by Hastuti and her family as shown by their not following tradition not deemed to be in line with Islam. However, her family is more tolerant of others' traditional practices, while Suharti's family strongly refuses to participate in traditions which they believe to be un-Islamic.

Nindya

Nindya is a 21-year-old female Javanese Muslim who comes from a small coastal town in Central Java called Cilacap. Cilacap is a region where the inhabitants speak a different Javanese dialect for daily communication known as *Ngapak-ngapak*. *Ngapak-ngapak* dialect plays the same role as Javanese *Ngoko Lugu*, which is a language used to speak with people whom we are close to, a medium of communication in informal conversation, and expression of emotion. On formal occasions, people in this area use the variety of Javanese *Krama* spoken in Yogyakarta and Central Java, the standard

Javanese. According to Nindya, people in regions where *Ngapak-ngapak* is spoken called the standard Javanese as the Javanese spoken by *"Wong Wetan"* or Eastern People. The reason is that *Ngapak-ngapak* speaking regions are geographically situated in the west part of Central Java province, while the speakers of the standard Javanese are concentrated in the east part of *Ngapak-ngapak* regions.

When a *Ngapak-ngapak* speaker speaks *Krama* or Indonesian, people from other areas can tell easily that his/her primary means of communication is *Ngapak-ngapak* because of his/her accent. Indeed, *Ngapak-ngapak* speakers are known for their strong accent and generally try to conceal it every time they speak in Indonesian, Javanese *Krama*, or Javanese *Ngoko* to non-*Ngapak-ngapak* speakers. The reason to do so is that *Ngapak-ngapak* is stereotypically considered funny and strange to hear as well as an inferior dialect. As a consequence, if a *Ngapak-ngapak* speaker does not try to reduce his/her accent, s/he is prone to become an object of ridicule, not only among other standard Javanese speakers but also Indonesian speakers in general.

Nindya is the only daughter in the family. She has one younger brother and one older brother. Her father works for the local government and her mother is a full-time homemaker. Nindya presents typical characteristics of a Javanese as suggested by Suharti and Hastuti, such as speaking softly to express linguistic politeness or refusing to accept a compliment to show humbleness. Just like her Muslim female friends who were also doing their internship in this school for different teaching subjects, Nindya wears a headscarf to cover her hair. She started to cover when she was a freshman to follow her mother's example.

Although no one in her family is a teacher, she chose to be one because of her parents' encouragement. For the last several years, her parents have kept track of information about job openings for Javanese language teacher positions in the province of Central Java. They also found that the demand for Javanese language teachers has increased dramatically. Therefore, her parents strongly suggested that Nindya get a degree in Javanese language teaching to secure a teaching job.

There are three reasons why Nindya's parents persuaded their only daughter to be a teacher. First, to work as a Javanese language teacher means financial and career security because in Indonesia, a teacher who is employed by provincial governments automatically becomes a full-time employee for the Indonesian government regardless of the subject s/he teaches. This position is the most secure job as the government will never let go their employees before they officially retire unless they commit serious crimes. Thus, the risk of losing a government job is low. Moreover, people who work for private companies will not receive a pension from their former employer, but a retired civil servant will get a monthly pension from the government. These are the primary stimuli for people to be a civil servant.

The second reason is that even though the job is financially more attractive and professionally more promising, whenever there is an opening for Javanese language teaching positions, almost nobody will respond to the job vacancy because people with a degree in Javanese language education are rarely found. As a consequence, there is always a shortage of Javanese language teachers in the province of Central Java (Suara Merdeka, 2009). Thus, the probability to get this job is higher since almost no one applies.

The final reason is that Nindya's parents do not want their only daughter to live far away from home. Indeed, to be a Javanese language teacher will guarantee that Nindya will be assigned to work for a school within the territory of Central Java. Moreover, her parents claim that teaching is a family-friendly profession, especially for women who will have a role as a wife and a mother and whose primary responsibility is to take care of their family. In Indonesia, working as a teacher relatively takes less much time than other jobs. Teachers will leave home at around 6:30 am because school starts at 7 am and they will return home at approximately 1 pm. Therefore, female teachers have plenty of time to do house chores. Like Hastuti's, Nindya's parents' beliefs highlighted gender role divisions in Javanese society that assign women to take more domestic responsibilities

In our first interview session, Nindya said that her main reason to study in the Javanese language education program is to make a contribution to the maintenance of Javanese language and culture, but she became more open about her real reason later on. Apart from the ideal reason which is to maintain language and culture, her parents' considerations regarding higher chances to be employed by the government influenced her decision. Nindya also mentioned that the chance of being admitted in this program is higher than in other "favorite" ones such as medical school, law, science, engineering, and technology. Therefore, Nindya chose Javanese language education as her first and only choice without any hesitation although all future college students were allowed to choose two programs of study by ranking them as first and second preferences in their application form.

Linguistic repertoire and home language policy. Nindya's educational background has tremendously influenced her linguistic repertoire. Although she mainly speaks in *Ngapak-ngapak* at home, Nindya uses it only to communicate with her siblings. A couple of years ago, she was motivated to use Javanese *Krama* daily with her parents both in speaking to them directly or over the phone including text messages. As a future Javanese language teacher, she felt responsible to be the role model of a good Javanese speaker. This linguistic decision definitely received a positive response from her parents, who felt their daughter respected them more than before as an effect of Javanese *Krama.* Beyond the home domain, she chooses to use Indonesian in Cilacap.

Nindya's parents are very proud of their daughter's linguistic choice to use Javanese *Krama* with them. Because of that, her parents encouraged her brothers to follow Nindya. While Nindya's older brother tries to use *Krama* and mixes it with *Ngapak-ngapak* when speaking to his parents due to his limited competence in *Krama*, Nindya's younger brother refuses to do so because he is not familiar with *Krama* at all. Since he only learns it for two hours per week in school without any practice outside class, he fails to have productive skills in Javanese *Krama*. Although Nindya's parents let their youngest child speak with them using *Ngapak-ngapak*, they often remind him to be like Nindya.

I noticed that her *Ngapak-ngapak* accent is apparent when she speaks Javanese and Indonesian. Nindya admitted that it is difficult to neutralize her accent because *Ngapak-ngapak* is her first language. She still prefers to speak in *Ngapak-ngapak* in Yogyakarta whenever she meets with her friends who come from the same region. Because almost all of her classmates come from the regions where *Ngapak-ngapak* is

spoken, she is intensively exposed to this dialect. As a result, *Ngapak-ngapak* is still an important means of communication for her in Yogyakarta. Considering that the vast majority of her time is spent on campus, her strong maintenance of the *Ngapak-ngapak* dialect along with its accent is not surprising.

One interesting finding is that the way she negotiated her linguistic choice between *Ngapak-ngapak* or Javanese depends on her interlocutors and settings. For example, when Nindya attends a student organization meeting, she selects Indonesian and standard Javanese. *Ngapak-ngapak* is perceived as inappropriate for this occasion because other participants of the meeting are mostly non-*Ngapak-ngapak* speakers. In contrast, when she hangs out with her close friends who all are *Ngapak-ngapak* speakers, she prefers her local dialect to standard Javanese.

She also prefers to use *Ngapak-ngapak* in public places such as shopping malls and book stores when she goes out with her friends in Yogyakarta because she feels that public places are less intimidating than her campus to maintain her linguistic practice. When she and her friends start to use *Ngapak-ngapak* in public places, she does not care if other people laugh at them because she does not know them in person. On the contrary, she knows almost everyone in her program and the student organization where she is actively involved. To speak *Ngapak-ngapak* in the presence of the mainstream Javanese speakers whom she knows well will put her at risk of being made fun of directly. Moreover, to be made fun of by people whom she knows is more hurtful. With this ethnolinguistic setting, Nindya's friends who are also speakers of *Ngapak-ngapak* generally work hard to hide their accent whenever their non-*Ngapak-ngapak*-speaking peers are present.

In contrast, Nindya does not feel the need to hide her accent in casual settings. Nevertheless, she admitted that her accent brings some disadvantages specifically for her academic performance. For instance, her professors frequently remind her and her classmates whose first language is *Ngapak-ngapak* to eliminate their accent because their credibility as a Javanese language teacher will be questionable if they fail to do so. In the university where she studies, the majority of the students who are enrolled in the Javanese language program are *Ngapak-ngapak* speakers. Because of that, her professors keep reminding them that as future Javanese language teachers, everyone in the class is responsible to disseminate the correct form of Javanese (i.e., the standard) to their future students. Thus, any variations to the standard variety must be avoided. Therefore, to avoid being criticized for her accented Javanese, she tries to eliminate her accent when she is in class even though outside class she is not worried at all about it. Furthermore, during her teaching internship in North School, Nindya has been very cautious to hide her accent when she speaks before her students.

Throughout our interviews, Nindya always used Indonesian even though I initiated the interview in Javanese *Krama*. Because I sensed that Nindya was not comfortable being interviewed in Javanese *Krama*, I used Indonesian for the rest of the interview. My suspicion was later corroborated by her statement that in class she prefers to speak, to listen to lectures, and to read textbook/lecture materials in Indonesian because she understands Indonesian more easily than Javanese *Krama*.

> *Itu kan saya dari jurusan bahasa Jawa jadi kalau dosen mengajar itu pakai bahasa Jawa Krama. Tapi ada dosen yang bahasa Krama-nya itu halus banget malah jadinya jujur saja saya nggak mudeng gitu. Tapi ada juga dosen yang*

mengajar tapi kadang ada bahasa Indonesianya juga seperti saya gitu. Jadi aku lebih suka dosen ini karena lebih mudeng, lebih mudah dipahami gitu. Jadi kalau pas menerangkan mata kuliah itu beliau menerangkan jadi bahasa Indonesianya kayak gini, gini, gini, gitu. Jadi mudah dipahami.

[Because] I am in a Javanese language program, professors use Javanese *Krama* when they deliver the lecture. But there are some professors whose *Krama* is too refined, and because of that, frankly speaking, I do not understand [the content] at all. There are some other professors who sometimes switch to Indonesian just like me [when I teach the students in North School]. I prefer these professors [who use a mix of languages because] it is easier to understand the content. When they explain a subject, [they first say it in Javanese *Krama* then] they explain it again in Indonesian. So it is easier to understand.

There are two points that can be inferred from her statement above. First, her fluency in Javanese is relatively not high enough for academic-related activities. I do not say that her Javanese is not good – she is indeed a very good Javanese speaker – but Javanese for academic purposes is difficult to understand even for a speaker of the standard Javanese like me because it incorporates vocabulary not commonly used every day. Second, unlike Indonesian, Javanese language is not known as an academic language. Therefore, when the language is used for this purpose, it is difficult to understand.

Language attitude. Despite her story about being linguistically marginalized, her experience as a *Ngapak-ngapak* speaker does not lead Nindya to question why she and others like her receive this unfair treatment. In fact, she agrees with her professors that

she must speak the correct Javanese because she believes that her first language is not real Javanese:

> *Kami kan bahasa Jawanya nggak benar, bukan bahasa Jawa yang Jawa beneran. Jadi kalau di sini apalagi di kampus, sebisa mungkin aksen Cilacap saya hilangkan.*
>
> Our Javanese is not correct, not a real Javanese. Therefore, here on campus, (I) tried as hard as I can to eliminate my Cilacap accent.

Furthermore, she completely agrees that speakers of marginalized Javanese dialects like her must learn the standard. It is a common practice that has been done since a long time ago.

> *Biasa aja. Nerima aja. Masalahnya sejak saya nerima pelajaran pas SMP dulu juga kayak gitu, bahasa standar. Jadi saya juga sadar kalau memang yang harus dipelajari adalah bahasa Jawa yang itu, yang Yogya sama Solo.*
>
> [I am] fine. I [simply] accept that. The thing is since I was in middle school, the type of Javanese that was taught was the standard one. So I am aware that the form which must be learned is that type of Javanese, the one [spoken] in Yogya and Solo.

Intrigued by her answer, I asked her whether in the future she will include the dialect of *Ngapak-ngapak* in her teaching materials since this is the language that students in her hometown actually use for daily communication. Once again she maintains her strong support for the dissemination of standard Javanese because she believes that it is the correct form. Moreover, inserting the local dialect might confuse her future students because it is not acknowledged in the curriculum. Nindya's opinion implies that schools

only recognize the standard language even where the local dialect is more common in casual domains such as home. Because this practice has been done for so many years since the independence of Indonesia, Nindya and arguably other marginalized dialect speakers perceive this practice as common, correct, and standard.

Being a Javanese. With her background as a speaker of a marginal Javanese dialect, I asked her opinion about the meaning of being a Javanese. Nindya realizes that she comes from a region away from the center of Javanese culture and speaks a marginalized dialect. However, these do not mean that she is less Javanese than people from Yogyakarta: "*Saya tetap orang Jawa"* (I am still a Javanese). Her hard work to master the standard Javanese, both *Ngoko* and *Krama,* and her good manners are the most important factors of being a Javanese. In fact, she perceives speaking the standard Javanese as a crucial factor for every Javanese.

> *Kita kan orang Jawa kok bahasa Jawanya kurang trampil itu kok ngisin-ngisini, kayak gitu. Ngisin-ngisinke banget kok orang Jawa malah nggak bisa bahasa Jawa, kayak gitu. Makanya aku juga berusaha sebisa mungkin dalam lingkup keluarga pakai bahasa Jawa Krama walaupun kadang-kadang ada ngapaknya dikit.*
>
> We are Javanese so if we are not proficient in the Javanese language, it is embarrassing, just like that. It is so embarrassing if a Javanese cannot speak Javanese, just like that. So I tried so hard within the family domain to use Javanese *Krama* [to speak with my parents] although sometimes [I used] a little bit of *Ngapak*.

Nindya's explanation above is relevant to the concept of ownership commonly found among the speakers of English in the outer circle (e.g., Singapore and India; Higgins, 2003). For these English speakers, it is through their correct usage of standard English that they receive legitimacy as a true speaker of English (Higgins, 2003). In the case of Nindya, to embrace the standard form and apply it within the family domain is a statement of ownership of the Javanese language and ethnicity from a person coming from the periphery of Javanese culture. She also pointed out her pride in being a Javanese because of their elegant language which can appropriately accommodate expressions of respect through the use of *Krama* and expressions of closeness through the use of *Ngoko*.

Nindya plans to pass on her positive value toward the standard Javanese language to her future children and her future husband regardless of the ethnicity of her future spouse and where their future residence will be. This finding is contradictory to Smith-Hefner's finding (2009) which indicated that Javanese young women in Yogyakarta do not hope to pass on their native language to their (future) children. They also do not plan to teach their (future) husbands Javanese language if their future spouses do not come from the same ethnic group. I argue that this different finding is caused by two factors. The first is the participants' educational background. In Smith-Hefner's study, all participants were college students just like Nindya, but none of them was majoring in Javanese language, whereas in this study my participant is a senior student in a Javanese language education program. As a future Javanese language teacher, my participant is arguably more aware of native language maintenance.

The second factor is that Nindya's background as a speaker of a minority Javanese dialect has driven her to blend in with mainstream Javanese speakers. The

desire to be accepted by the majority group has led Nindya to pass on a language which is not her first language. She never mentioned anything about passing on *Ngapak-ngapak* to her future offspring. Since she views language as an instrumental aspect of Javanese identity, her preference to foster Javanese in her future family can be inferred as her way to validate Javanese identity for her future family.

Nindya also indicates that maintaining Javanese tradition is an important part of being a real Javanese but she mentions one rule about it. As long as the tradition is in line with Islam, she will continue doing it. However, if the traditions do not agree with Islam, she prioritizes her religion. For example, she mentioned some Javanese rituals which require people to embrace and to ask for blessings from spirits. She said this practice violates Islamic rules that Muslims should pray only to *Allah*. Another example she presented is her decision to wear corresponding Islamic outfits. Being raised in a pious Muslim family clearly influences Nindya's priority of religion over ethnicity.

Rahman

The last participant is a 22-year-old student, Rahman, who was born and grew up in a pious Muslim family in Prembun, an agricultural town smaller than Cilacap and situated in the western part of Central Java province. Just like Cilacap, Prembun is also a *Ngapak-ngapak*-speaking region. Rahman is the oldest child in the family. He has four brothers, one of whom is studying at the same university but in a different program, Business Management.

Unlike Nindya, who does not have a tradition of teaching in her family, Rahman comes from a family of teachers. His father is a chemistry teacher in a public high school and his mother is a philosophy teacher in a public middle school. His grandfather was

also a teacher in a public elementary school where he taught all subjects including Javanese language. With this background, his parents fully support his decision to continue the family tradition to be a teacher. Nevertheless, they questioned Rahman's decision to pursue a degree in Javanese language education. Rahman recalled when his parents were perplexed by his choice, asking "Why Javanese? Why not Science or Engineering? If you want to study language, why don't you study English?" They believed that Javanese would not offer broader options for Rahman's future career. As the oldest son in the family, his parents expected him to set a "high" standard for his siblings, meaning that he should pursue a more prestigious field of study in order to achieve an excellent career in a mainstream occupation such as engineer, scientist, faculty member, or government employee in a prominent government office. His parents would not stop Rahman from learning a language as long as it was English because English could take Rahman to various career paths in addition to teaching. In contrast, the only career available for a Javanese language graduate was to be a Javanese language teacher. Despite his parents' disagreement, Rahman did not want to give up his dream, arguing that fluency in Javanese language and thorough knowledge of Javanese culture would actually lead to an array of professions such as researcher, professor, or journalist. Because of his strong will to pursue this degree, Rahman's parents finally accepted his decision even though they were not entirely happy with his choice.

His passion for learning about Javanese language and culture started when he was a child. His late grandfather had a profound knowledge of Javanese and influenced Rahman to learn more about the language and culture. Rahman already made his decision when he was in 7th grade that he would pursue a Bachelor's degree in Javanese language

education although his parents did not know then about his plan. His passion for Javanese language and culture was cultivated when he moved to Yogyakarta to study in a Javanese language education program. He joined an antique bicycle club in which all members must wear traditional Javanese outfits. In addition to being active in this club, Rahman is also actively involved in cultural events organized by the university. Moreover, he likes to attend traditional and artistic Javanese performances held at the Yogyakarta Cultural Center, read Javanese literature, and listen to Javanese music. His passion for Javanese language and culture is well documented in his Facebook account, where he often updates his timeline with cultural events he attends, his bicycle club's activities, and his thoughts about Javanese language maintenance.

Linguistic repertoire and home language policy. Rahman primarily speaks *Ngapak-ngapak* at home when he speaks with his siblings. To his parents, he and all of his younger brothers (except the youngest one) always use standard Javanese, especially Javanese *Ngoko Alus*. According to Rahman, *Ngoko Alus* sounds more polite but still gives an impression of closeness. On the other hand, the equivalent of *Ngoko Lugu* in Prembun, which is *Ngapak-ngapak*, does not seem appropriate for children to use speak to their parents. He does not prefer to use Javanese *Krama* either, although he has been fluent in it since he was a child, because it is so formal that it reduces the feeling of closeness between parents and children. However, to his elderly neighbors or older relatives, Rahman always uses Javanese *Krama*.

The linguistic repertoire of this family which prioritizes the use of standard Javanese to talk to parents is unusual because they live in a Ngapak-ngapak-speaking region. According to Rahman, the fact that both of his parents are teachers who have to

be the role model of standard Javanese speakers in school even though they do not teach Javanese language as a subject influences their positive attitude toward the use of standard Javanese at home. In addition, his paternal great-grandfather was related to the Javanese royalty, and Rahman's extended family live in regions where standard Javanese is spoken. As a result, standard Javanese is not an unfamiliar language for the family. Nonetheless, Rahman is the most proficient person in Javanese *Krama* compared to his siblings because of his educational background. Moreover, because of his position in the family as the oldest son, his parents expect Rahman to be the role model of behavior for his younger brothers.

In contrast, Rahman's parents are more lenient to their youngest child although he is the only one in the family who uses *Ngapak-ngapak* to his parents due to his low competence in standard Javanese. Role assignment based on age is common in Javanese society; that is, the oldest child in the family is always expected to be the role model.

> *Kula sampun dipun weling menawi anak pertama dados contoh kangge adik-adik. Menawi bapak gerah utawi sampun mboten wonten, kula kedah maringi ulada ingkang leres dumateng adik-adik.*
>
> I have been told [by my parents] as the oldest son to be the role model for my younger brothers. If my father is ill or passes away, I am the one who must be the example [of correct manner] to my brothers.

I previously mentioned that Rahman has been fascinated by Javanese history and culture since he was a child. His late grandfather was the person who introduced Rahman to Javanese stories, tradition, and the history of the Javanese kingdom. Because of this exposure to standard Javanese and Javanese culture since he was a child as well as his

immersion in Javanese life in Yogyakarta, Rahman does not find any difficulty at all in understanding Javanese lectures or textbooks. He is also comfortable speaking in Javanese *Krama* to his professors. Furthermore, when Rahman speaks with Hartawan, the Javanese language teacher in North School, he always uses *Krama* whereas Nindya generally chooses Indonesian. Here I could see that Javanese *Krama* for Rahman is equivalent to his first language, while Nindya subconsciously perceives it as her second language.

During class observation I also noticed that Rahman was very confident delivering teaching materials in Javanese *Krama* and had a wide variety of activities such as role play or games to make his class more engaging. Although Nindya is also competent in disseminating teaching materials in Javanese *Krama*, her competence in *Krama* is still not equal to Rahman's. Moreover, she was sometimes nervous about starting a new subject of discussion while at the same time struggling to make the class more interactive as she almost never applied any interactive activities. I completely understand her situation because this internship is her first teaching experience. While this internship is also Rahman's first experience, his interaction in bicycle club and cultural events has tremendously helped his teaching performance. Hartawan acknowledged Rahman's excellent teaching performance by saying that Rahman seems like a real teacher, not an intern. Because of that, when Hartawan had to be absent because of health problems, he did not hesitate to ask Rahman to substitute for him.

Throughout my observation period in North School, I was aware that Rahman admires the standard Javanese language, tradition, and *Keraton* (the palace). One of his reasons for studying in Yogyakarta was that the language here is the standard for all

Javanese speakers. Moreover, the location of *Keraton* in Yogyakarta makes him more enthusiastic about learning more about Javanese. Therefore, I wondered whether he still maintains his home dialect in Yogyakarta when he meets with his friends from the same region.

> *Menawi wonten Ngayogyakarta, menawi saget kula manggon wonten Ngayogyakarta basanipun kula damel domisili wonten Yogja. Ananging menawi kepanggih kanca-kanca ingkang daerah kilen, uga kula saget. Menawi dipun tutup-tutupi kula mboten. Namung menempatkan situasi kaliyan kondisi anggenipun kula manggen wonten pundi.*
>
> Since I am now in Yogyakarta, whenever possible I always select the Javanese language used in Yogyakarta. However, when I meet with my friends from the west [part of central Java], I can [switch to *Ngapak-ngapak*]. [I] do not hide [my accent at all. But I have to consider the kind of occasion [where I can use the dialect appropriately] and take into account my current residence now [which is in Yogyakarta].

Although he claimed that in Yogyakarta he chose *Ngapak-ngapak* when talking with friends whose home language is the same, based on my observation Rahman always selects Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* or mixes it with Indonesian when he talks to Nindya. It was clear to me that here in Yogyakarta Rahman subconsciously has distanced himself from his marginal dialect.

Language attitude. Rahman clearly has a positive attitude toward standard Javanese. The approval he receives from others for his mastery of Javanese strongly increases his loyalty to this language.

> *... arang lare enem sinau basa Jawa. Biasane rak nek lare enem niku ten basa Inggris utawi basa asing liyanipun. Pergaulanipun kan pergaulanipun kan pergaulan sampun wah modern. Menawi kula menawi saget tetep pergaulan ingkang rumiyin. Dados kebudayaan tasih kula cerminaken. Dados mboten saget ical. Tetep walaupun enten pergaulan ingkang mriki-mrika menika teras, ananging akar ingkang basa lan budaya Jawa menika tetep kula cekel.*
>
> ... It is rare that young people learn Javanese. Usually they learn English or other foreign languages. They have fancy and modern lifestyles. As for me, I prefer to follow the old Javanese lifestyle. What I mean is that I am loyal to the Javanese culture. So it will not be lost. Although I hang out here and there but I still hold on to my roots, Javanese language and culture.

It is important to note that he does not oppose people who learn foreign languages. He himself likes to learn English. He also believes in the importance of English in this modern era. However, he clearly stated that the most important language for his life as a Javanese is always going to be Javanese.

His linguistic pride is also reflected through his speech. Unlike Nindya, whose *Ngapak-ngapak* accent is still apparent, Rahman does not speak accented Javanese at all. When I first met him to arrange for interviews, I did not notice that his home language is *Ngapak-ngapak* because his pronunciation, word choice, and gestures are the same as those a Javanese speaker from Yogyakarta will show. Even throughout the interview sessions and classroom observations, he exhibited a mastery of standard Javanese. Furthermore, contrary to Nindya, who responded to all my questions in Indonesian, Rahman eloquently answered all my questions in Javanese *Krama*. I admitted that his

competence in Javanese *Krama* is in fact significantly higher than mine. Therefore, when he told me that he comes from a *Ngapak-ngapak*-speaking region, I was surprised.

Due to his strong inclination toward standard Javanese, Rahman completely agrees that *Ngapak-ngapak* should not be taught in schools because students must learn the right variety of Javanese (i.e., standard). His even perceives *Ngapak-ngapak* as a "*lucu*" (funny) dialect because of the way it sounds and as a "*kasa*r" (rough) variety unlike standard Javanese. His positive attitude toward standard Javanese has encouraged him to spread it to his non-Javanese speaking friends. For example, he code-mixes Indonesian and Javanese in conversation to introduce his friends to Javanese words. He also indicated that in the future when he has his own family, he will disseminate Javanese language, tradition, and customs to his children.

> *Dados anggenipun sampun berkeluarga, sampun gadah putra, ingkang dipun pentingaken basa Jawa. Anggenipun tata krama, tingkah lakunipun kaliyan tiyang sepuh kaliyan bebrayan dipun pentingaken basa Jawa rumiyin.*
>
> [In the future] when I have my own family and children, [I] will prioritize Javanese. Etiquette, manners to older people, and interaction with others must primarily [use] Javanese language [and follow Javanese ways].

Being a Javanese. For Rahman, Javanese language is an inseparable part of Javanese identity; thus, to lose a language is equal to losing Javanese identity. However, he believes that most of the young generation of Javanese now are alienated from their mother tongue and cultural background. This situation has become his major concern because as a future Javanese language teacher he feels responsible to contribute to promote its vitality:

Inggih menika, basa Jawa menika sampun luntur. Teras para siswa, para lare-lare enem sampun mboten saget ngajeni tiyang sepah. Inggih menika, ingkang kula prihatin inggih menika.

It is true, Javanese has been eroded. Thus, students (and) the young generation are no longer able to respect older people. This issue is indeed my concern.

According to Rahman, there is a strong relation between losing the Javanese language and being less respectful to the older generation. When a younger person uses Javanese *Krama* or at least *Ngoko Alus* to older people, the atmosphere of respect and politeness can be sensed right away because these forms require a person to use appropriate linguistic and non-linguistic features. However, this practice seems to be fading away.

... lahir wonten Jawa nanging kok kados ical jawanipun. Hubungane pun sampun los. Keterikatanipun menawi rante menika pun ditugel thil. Pun kaliyan tiyang sepah pun putus amargi sampun lali kaliyan basa Jawa.

... born in Java but losing their Javanese identity. The relationship [between the young and the older generation] becomes loose. [The analogy of] this relationship is like disconnecting each metal ring of a chain. That is, nothing connects the older [and young generation] anymore because they [young generation] leave behind their language.

His statement above also indicates that language is a significant element to connect the past and the present, the old generation and the young generation. However, nowadays young generation do not care about their Javanese identity anymore. It is like losing their Javanesene identity "*kados ical jawanipun."*

Besides the language, another important element of Javanese identity is the traditions. Nonetheless, he is aware of the inclination of modern Javanese Muslims to leave their traditions behind. He states that this issue should not become a source of conflict because everything can be negotiated. For example, there is a ritual to prepare food offerings for the spirit during a celebration of a life event (for instance, a wedding). Food will be left under a big tree which is considered sacred because of the spirit that lives in it. Because this practice does not align with Islamic beliefs, he suggested altering the objective of the practice. Instead of leaving the food under a tree, people should give it to the needy. In short, there should not be disagreement between tradition and religion.

The Elite

To have a holistic picture of contemporary Javanese society, I recruited a member of the royal family named Bayu to participate in my study. Until now, studies about Javanese language and identity have primarily focused on government policy (macro level), language education (meso), or language use at micro levels (voices of ordinary people) but excluded Javanese elites from the discussion. The reason to not include the elites is that it takes a significant amount of time to get access and to build rapport with them. In my opinion, however, it is paramount to reveal whether the language shift has penetrated into this highest level of Javanese society especially because the Javanese royalty is synonymous with Javanese culture.

Bayu

The interview took place at Bayu's residence situated in the *Keraton* or palace complex, also known as *njeron beteng* ("inside the fortress") because *Keraton* is surrounded by fortress walls. The house where he and his family live is a classic Javanese

building inherited from his royal ancestors. There is a big *pendopo* (pillared grand patio) in front of his house where a group of traditional Javanese dancers and musicians which Bayu leads practice regularly. Because of his busy schedule, I only had a chance to interview him one time for about 90 minutes. Learning that I was doing research about shifting language loyalty within Javanese society had sparked Bayu's interest since Javanese language and culture have always been his passion.

Bayu, the youngest of four siblings, was born almost 50 years ago in Yogyakarta to a royal mother and a commoner father. He grew up in Yogyakarta and has never moved from his hometown. While he chooses to live inside the palace walls, all his siblings prefer to reside outside the *Keraton* complex. Bayu actually owns a house outside the royal complex which he put up for rent. His decision to live in the palace complex is based on two reasons. First, his current home is not only his family home but also his office. Because his occupation is highly related to the maintenance of Javanese language and culture, having an office inside the palace walls symbolizes his expertise. Moreover, living in the palace complex encourages him to always live Javanese because Javanese tradition and customs are well maintained and cultural events are also better fostered there than outside the fortress.

Bayu is known as an expert in Javanese traditional dance. Besides being a natural dancer, Bayu is a formally trained dancer from a prestigious institution in Java. He started to learn dancing in *Keraton* when he was three year old. For the people of Yogyakarta, *Keraton* is known as a place to learn classical Javanese dances not only for the royalty but for anyone who is interested. Royal family members like Bayu generally learn traditional dances from the time they are very young. He recalled that during the training,

the music to accompany the dance was still played from vinyl records on a gramophone. His first performance was for the birthday celebration of his grandfather the prince when he was about four years old. After that, his days were filled with dancing.

When he was in middle school, Bayu organized a Javanese traditional opera, or *kethoprak*, performed in the Javanese language. In the past, *kethoprak* was always performed in Javanese but in the modern era, it is performed in Indonesian too in order to attract a wider audience. His event went so successfully that he was awarded a scholarship to a prestigious private school in Yogyakarta. Although he did not accept the scholarship and chose to enroll in another private school, the offer is evidence of the society's appreciation of his efforts to foster his native culture. This became a stimulus for him to continue to pursue his passion in high school, where he established a traditional dance club for students and successfully recruited 300 members.

Bayu spent most of his time in high school in this extracurricular activity, but when it came to choosing a field of study for college, he refused to go to the school of dance. He was concerned about limited job opportunity for dancers. He knew that dancing was his passion, but he would not be able to provide for himself let alone his future family if he chose this path. Therefore, he applied to the department of economics to major in business management. He was sure that he would find a job easily as a business major whereas being a dancer would be financially challenging. He said to himself at that time that he had to be realistic because being a dancer in Indonesia was simply seen as a hobby. Knowing that dance was Bayu's life, his parents strongly opposed his decision to study in business program, but he insisted.

Because business studies was not his interest, Bayu struggled to understand the subjects in his class but he was too embarrassed to admit that his parents were right. In the fifth semester, he finally could not take it anymore so he told his parents that he had decided to quit and would apply to a dance school. His parents and even his distant relatives expressed their relief because Bayu was finally being brave enough to follow his passion. After he finished his study, his relatives commented that he should not have wasted his time in that business studies program and should have chosen a dance major in the first place. Bayu is now one of the most important figures in traditional Javanese dancing.

Interestingly, he is the only person in the family who is interested in Javanese dance and issues related to Javanese language and culture. None of his siblings know anything about Javanese dance, *gamelan* (a set of traditional Javanese musical instruments), *keris* (Javanese traditional dagger), *batik* (a technique to decorate a fabric using wax and dye), and so on. He listed a large number of things related to Javanese culture with which his siblings are not familiar. In brief, Bayu is the only one in the family who cultivates a passion for his native culture. The reason for this is that as the youngest child in the family, his parents often took him to cultural events to see dance performances held in *Keraton*. His grandfather and his uncles could also dance well. Moreover, there is a tradition in his family that at least one of the sons must learn to dance. All of these factors have contributed to develop his passion for dance.

Despite his immediate and extended families' support for him to dance, they never forced him to be a professional dancer. They encouraged him to study in a dance school simply because it is his talent and passion. For his parents, it was important for

him to continue to master dancing primarily for spiritual reasons. Dancing for the royal family is in fact a spiritual activity.

> *Menari bagi kami itu bukan sekedar seni pertunjukkan tapi edukasi spiritual. kami Jadi tidak ada dalam keluarga kami itu: "Mbok kamu menari supaya mbesok bisa menari, laris, terkenal, dapat honor besar". Lalu itu seperti spiritual.*
>
> Dancing for us is not simply an artistic performance but it is a spiritual education. So it is not like this in our family: "You should learn to dance so in the future you can dance, become the most sought after dancer, be famous, and receive a significant amount of financial reward." That [dancing] is like spiritual.

Bayu believes that Javanese dance is indeed good for the soul because through dancing a person learns patience, diligence, perseverance, and attention to detail through its elegant body movements which take time to master. Although dancing is very spiritual for him and it is a family tradition to disseminate it to the next generation, Bayu never asked his two children to learn dancing. His children can dance but they see it simply as an activity to kill time. Thus, they do not see dancing as a spiritual activity. As a consequence, his family tradition of mastering Javanese dances as a spiritual activity has ended.

Besides being known for his expertise in Javanese traditional dances, Bayu is also a consultant for Javanese language and culture. His deep knowledge in this field is acknowledged by the local and national government as he often chairs cultural events within Indonesia or serves as a cultural ambassador for events abroad to promote the tourism industry. Moreover, he is a regular discussant in a Javanese language and culture program on a local television channel. With this deep Javanese background, it is therefore

important to discover whether his background and social roles will manifest in his daily life at the micro level.

Linguistic repertoire and home language policy. Within his immediate family, Javanese *Ngoko* is the main language of communication among Bayu, his wife, and his children. His children use *Ngoko* to speak to him and his wife. To his siblings, Bayu also uses Javanese *Ngoko* and vice versa. According to Bayu, this pattern is strikingly different from what happened in his generation and in the generations of his parents and grandparents. To this day, Bayu and his siblings use Javanese *Krama* with their parents while their parents respond in *Ngoko*. His parents also selected Javanese *Krama* when they spoke with Bayu's grandparents, while Bayu's grandparents responded in *Ngoko*. Bayu's children use Javanese *Krama* when they meet with their grandparents. However, to their uncles and aunties they opt for *Ngoko Alus* and Indonesian. This practice means that Bayu's children are proficient in Javanese *Krama* even though he never explicitly taught it to them. However, his family's royal descent background and their residence inside the palace fortress have contributed to their success in acquiring formal Javanese *Krama*. In contrast, to their aunties and uncles, they select Javanese *Ngoko Alus* and Indonesian interchangeably during conversations because their relationships are closer than those with their grandparents; that is, the power differences are narrower.

At the same time the linguistic repertoire has changed, the power differences between children and parents have also changed dramatically over generations. The relationships between Bayu, his wife, and their children are very close, like friends. His children can talk to him and his wife anytime about their problems with friends, schools, and anything else. Of course, he said that there are still power differences; for example,

parents have to set rules for their children regarding curfew, study time, or house chores, but the gap is small.

> *Kalau dulu orang tua itu sebagai pepunden kan? Sekarang kan sebagai teman, kan? Jadi ada perubahan, kan? Ada perubahan. Kalau dulu kita makan selalu bapak dulu. Gitu kan? Kalau sekarang anak dulu. Jadi saya dulu waktu jadi anak bapak dulu, waktu jadi bapak anak dulu. Jadi nggak komanan kepala ayam. Nggak komanan kepala ayam, kan?*
>
> In the past, parents were the most respected and worshipped figures, right? Now [parents] are friends, right? So there is change, right? There is change. In the past [when] we ate together, my father was always the first person [who takes the best food on the table onto his plate]. It was like that, right? Now, it is the children first [who take the first turn to take the food on the table]. Thus in the past when my role was to be a son, it was my father who was prioritized, now that I am a father, children are prioritized. So I never get the chicken head. Never get the chicken head, right?

He used the example of a chicken head (the part of the chicken considered a delicacy to the Javanese people) to show it was fathers who occupied the highest position of authority while mothers would come next. Now, it is the children who are prioritized by the parents to get the best things in life. That is why Bayu jokingly said that he always got the leftovers. Bayu did not deny that contemporary Javanese society still positions parents as the most important figures in the family domain but the relationships between parents, especially fathers, and children are no longer similar to superiors versus inferiors.

In the past, the relationships between his parents and his grandparents (specifically his grandfather, the prince) were very formal. He recalled that when his parents visited Bayu's grandfather they always used Javanese *Krama* and showed a formal attitude to emphasize the power gap between his parents and grandparents as if they were not family. Moreover, his parents had to follow the royal protocols regulating the appropriate code of conduct when meeting a prince even though the prince was their father. Although Bayu spoke Javanese *Krama* to his parents, their relationship was less formal compared to that of his parents and grandparents. According to Bayu, the most formal relationship was between his grandparents and his great-grandfather, the King.

> *Mbah saya itu anak raja. Jadi kalo dengan orang tuanya ya nyembah, tidak boleh omong, udah pokoknya semuanya menurut.*
>
> My grandfather was the King's son. So when [he met] with his parents he had to *nyembah*[7], was not allowed to speak [unless he was asked to], all in all [he had] to obey all the rules.

Within Bayu's family domain, Javanese is the most dominant but outside this domain, his linguistic choice depends on the context. For example, with his fellow dancers he usually prefers to use Javanese *Ngoko* because their close rapport and shared ethnic background make them like his second family. Moreover, terms used for the choreography of Javanese dances are in Javanese too. Therefore, it is appropriate to apply Javanese in this domain. With his colleagues on television, Indonesian is the primary medium of formal (i.e., meetings) and informal (i.e., casual conversation) communication

[7] *Nyembah* is an expression of respect by bending the knee, turning the face downwards, clasping hands, aligning the thumbs with the nose and bowing before a person who is highly respected.

because the relationship between him and his colleagues here is not as close as that with his fellow dancers. However, the TV program itself is broadcast in Javanese *Krama* although some Indonesian vocabulary may appear because of the limitation of Javanese as a language for an educational setting like this TV program.

> *... Bahasa Jawa itu punya keterbatasan ketika kita berbicara atau menerangkan secara analisis gitu kan sulit sekali. Jadi sangat sulit sekali ... karena mungkin kebiasaan orang sekarang kan berbahasa Indonesia jarang menganalisa sebuah persoalan dengan bahasa Jawa.*
>
> ... Javanese has limitations when we [use it] to speak or to explain analytically, it is very difficult. So it is very difficult ... probably because now people are used to using Indonesian and rarely analyze a problem in Javanese.

When he works on a project for the local or central government, Bayu will mainly use Indonesian because of the same reason: he is personally not close with these colleagues and Javanese language often does not have equal vocabulary to accommodate modern or academic terms. In other domains, such as the mosque, public facilities (e.g., hospitals, schools, shopping centers), restaurants, and so forth, Indonesian is his primary choice because of its function as a *lingua franca*.

Language attitude. His family, educational, and professional backgrounds clearly show that Bayu highly regards his native language and culture. Nevertheless, he admitted that Javanese often cannot accommodate academic purposes, mentioning the difficulty in leading a television program entirely in Javanese language because of its limitation. He showed me a sentence in Indonesian which his friend asked for his assistance to translate:

Negara Indonesia terdiri dari wilayah kepulauan dan samudera.

The country of Indonesia is composed of islands and oceanic areas.

When Bayu challenged me to translate it, I frankly told him that I had no idea how to find the Javanese equivalent words. I did not know how to translate it into my own mother tongue. I did not know what the Javanese version of that sentence is because the words are so academic that I have never heard anyone utter a similar sentence in Javanese before. He told me that it took him three hours to successfully translate that short sentence in Indonesian into Javanese:

Negara Indonesia terdiri dari wilayah kepulauan dan samudera. (Indonesian)

Tlatah bumi negari Indonesia iku wewengkone awujud daratan lan samudra. (Javanese)

He did not consult a dictionary of Indonesian-Javanese and Javanese-Indonesian because their entries are not complete enough to incorporate the word *pulau* (island). That is, the word "island" is not recognized in his mother tongue. Therefore, he relied on his cultural competence to translate the sentence.

This example highlights the limitation of Javanese to express academic terms which cause the language to be infeasible in the academic domain. This is also evidence of the success of Indonesian language planning and policy (LPP), which has vigorously cultivated new Indonesian vocabulary to accommodate academic language needs. There has been no similar LPP intended to promote Javanese as an academic language. As a consequence, the Javanese people perceive their native language simply as daily talk (*Ngoko*) or a way to present good manners (*Krama*) but not as an academic language. It is no wonder that throughout this interview, Bayu always spoke in Indonesian.

Bayu is not confident that Javanese, especially *Krama*, will remain in use because of its decreasing degree of relevance to contemporary Javanese society. According to Bayu, Javanese is now placed in the fourth rank after Indonesian, English, and Arabic because its value for broader domains is diminishing. Without any support from the government, the extinction of Javanese *Krama* is possible. Moreover, the role of the family and the society at large are equally important to help protect the existence of the language. In his experience, his parents' encouragement to continue family tradition by learning Javanese dances since he was young contributed to his strong interest in Javanese language and culture. Moreover, living inside the palace fortress intensified his exposure to Javanese language and culture.

However, despite the encouragement he received to maintain Javanese language and to foster Javanese culture at home, Bayu never explicitly makes efforts to do so within his home domains. He never asks his children to be fluent in Javanese because in this era, his children need to master Indonesian and foreign languages, especially English and Arabic. Therefore, he never formally taught his children Javanese, especially Javanese *Krama*, but his children acquired it anyway through natural processes, such as hearing *Krama* when Bayu and his wife spoke with the older relatives. Moreover, living in the *Keraton* complex also made his children familiar with Javanese speech levels. Even though his children are not as fluent as Bayu, he thinks that their Javanese *Krama* is satisfactory. In addition to not having an overt language policy at home, Bayu never demands that his children participate in his activities. He wanted to let his children decide what their passion is. This finding shows that ambivalence about maintaining Javanese culture exists among the elite as well as among the villagers. Even the palace fortress is

not secure enough to maintain the continuity of the native language and culture to the future generation within the home domain.

Being a Javanese. Because of the intergenerational language shift and differences in practicing Javanese traditions or customs in his family, it is crucial to find out Bayu's perspective on Javanese identity. Like the rest of my participants, Bayu mentioned that someone must come from a family of Javanese descent to be called a Javanese. However, he reminded me that to be a real Javanese is not as simple as that. To be biologically Javanese is one thing, whereas to be holistically Javanese is another thing; that is, Javanese identity entails interrelated aspects.

> *Apa yang disebut orang Jawa itu mengenal tata krama itu, itu toh juga dimiliki oleh orang Jepang ta? Oleh orang Korea? Orang Korea itu juga sopan-sopan kan? Berarti itu orang Jawa? Nggak kan. Apakah tata krama? Ataukah bahasa itu, ataukah perilaku ... saya pikir orang itu punya memori tubuh. Lalu itu yang akan kelihatan memori tubuhnya itu kemasukan apa saja. Misalnya ketika orang pakai jas gitu ya. Orang pakai jas itu, nek rung tau nganggo jas, rung tau sugih ya ra wangun nok nganggo jas-i. Demikian juga orang pakai pakaian Jawa. Misalnya seorang pejabat, pejabat-pejabat gitu kan sering masuk keraton. Tapi ya wagu-wagu karena dia tidak mempunyai memori tubuh untuk berpakaian Jawa itu karena begitu berpakaian Jawa itu kan holistik. Gester-nya juga Jawa, jalannya juga Jawa, iya kan? Begitu dia banyak menyimpan memori-memori kejawaannya, ya dia semakin tebal identitasnya sebagai orang Jawa ta? ... Spiritual, tingkah laku, perilaku.*

> To be called Javanese, does someone have to know manners? The Japanese people are also known for their manner, right? The Koreans (too), right? Korean people are equally polite [as the Javanese] right? Does it make them Javanese? No, right? Is it the manners? Or the language, or the behavior? ... In my opinion, people have body memory. The body memory [tells] us what [things] are stored inside [the body]. For example, when a person wears a suit, if he never wore a suit before, never been rich, he is not going to look good in it. It is the same thing for a person wearing Javanese outfit. For example, [high-ranking] government officials, they often visit the palace. But they look awkward because they do not have a body memory to wear Javanese outfits because wearing a Javanese outfit must be holistic. The gesture must be Javanese, the way [they] walk must be Javanese, right? When he has stored a lot of Javanese memories [in his body], his Javanese [identity] will become bolder, right? ... [Identity is also] spiritual, manners, behavior.

These statements above indicate that Javanese identity encompasses the ownership of Javanese elements holistically. Bayu's concept of holistic identity aligns with the claim by Nicholas (2009) that to be a Hopi, one must live Hopi. Bayu's definition of Javanese identity also agrees with Chandra's (2012) concept of identity that to gain legitimate recognition from others, a person has to enact the identity s/he claims to be by using the elements of identity stored in his or her body memories. When s/he has sufficient Javanese body memories, s/he will be able to convince others about his/her legitimate identity.

Although Bayu was raised by ideal parents in an ideal place to actively learn Javanese language and culture, he is the only one in his family who makes real efforts to promote them. None of his siblings have much knowledge of Javanese language and culture or express any interest in its maintenance. In fact, according to Bayu, all of his siblings are now more inclined to highlight their religious identity more than their ethnic identity reflected by the way they dress and their positive attitude toward liturgical Arabic and Islamic ritual practices while he himself is more moderate. Thus, Bayu is still faithful to the Javanese tradition while his siblings prioritize their religious identity.

His own children have also learned to read and write liturgical Arabic since they were children and are also practicing Muslims. Bayu said that to know Arabic is important for his children because they need it in school to be able to follow the Islamic studies subject which is mandatory for all Muslim students. Furthermore, his immediate and extended families embrace Islam. Therefore the need to emphasize religious identity is not an extraordinary phenomenon. Nevertheless, he admits that this inclination to Islam is a big change as the older generations tended to follow the syncretic version of Islam. His final comment about this was short and simple: "*Jamannya sudah beda*" ("It is a different era").

Summary

In this chapter, I elaborated the voices of four teachers from the South School and the North School (namely Suharti, Hastuti, Nindya, and Rahman) and a member of the royal family (Bayu) with regard to Javanese language and identity. I began this chapter with their family background, education, and career and then described their linguistic repertoires and home language policies, Javanese language attitudes, and their views of

being a Javanese.

During the period of my observation in the South School, Suharti's and Hastuti's eloquent Javanese fluency, which was clearly exhibited during our formal and informal conversations, never failed to mesmerize me. Of course their profession as Javanese language teachers makes them role models of Javanese speakers, but other aspects of their lives such as family and educational background have significantly contributed to their positive attitude toward Javanese. Both teachers are also active role models of Javanese speakers at home. As a result, their children are praised by others for their fluency in both Javanese *Ngoko* and *Krama*.

Unlike Suharti and Hastuti, who are speakers of standard Javanese, Nindya and Rahman are speakers of a marginalized Javanese dialect known as *Ngapak-ngapak*. Their life stories show that speakers of a minority language or dialect want to be accepted by the majority group by linguistically immersing themselves in it. This need has encouraged Nindya and Rahman to learn to speak like speakers of the standard Javanese as this will not only legitimize their Javanese identity but also determine their academic success because as future Javanese language teacher, they must disseminate the "correct" variety of Javanese.

Because *Ngapak-ngapak* speakers are often made fun of due to their accent and because their professors warn them to perform the "correct" Javanese language, Nindya and Rahman worked hard to conceal their accent. Nevertheless, these social and academic pressures do not lead them to distance themselves from the so-called mainstream Javanese. In fact, both of them are linguistic brokers at the micro level by becoming role models of Javanese speakers for their siblings. They are even eager to pass

on standard Javanese, not the *Ngapak-ngapak* dialect, to their future families. This shows that the centrifugal force or the force that makes them want to blend in with the majority group is stronger the centripetal force or the force that makes them want to maintain their minoritized identity.

The findings from all teachers also reveal that Javanese language programs have been negatively valued even since the 1980s when Hastuti was in college. Compared to other language studies, especially foreign languages, Javanese has always been positioned at the very bottom of the ladder. The program is also considered so narrow that it will not enable those who formally learn it to work in broader areas. Moreover, Javanese language is difficult to study as reported by Hastuti and Nindya. In part due to these negative stereotypes, there are only three universities in Indonesia which still offer Javanese language programs.

Interestingly, in the university where Nindya and Rahman study, the majority of students in the Javanese language program come from *Ngapak-ngapak*-speaking regions, while the speakers of standard Javanese seem to be less interested in it. Nindya's parents' rationale for encouraging their daughter to be a Javanese language teacher because of the high probability that she would be employed by the local government which is in tremendous need of Javanese language teachers is arguably the primary reason for this high admission trend from *Ngapak-ngapak* speaking regions. This trend is worth to examining in future research to see how these future teachers whose first language is *Ngapak-ngapak* will spread standard Javanese in their hometowns. It is also important to examine how their roles as advocates for the standard language may impact the language beliefs of *Ngapak-ngapak* speakers and the maintenance of this marginal dialect.

Like the teachers, Bayu, who was raised inside the palace fortress, has a positive attitude toward his native language. However, unlike the other participants, Bayu does not apply overt language policy to maintain the language at home. He simply relies on natural processes by considering that he lives in the palace complex which is considered the center of Javanese culture. There is also an intergenerational shift from *Krama* to *Ngoko* and from Javanese tradition to Islam in the royal family. All of Bayu's siblings are now more inclined to highlight their religious identity more than their ethnic identity as reflected in the way they dress and their positive attitude toward liturgical Arabic and Islamic ritual practices. His own children also follow a similar trend as their uncles and aunties. According to Bayu, this inclination to Islam is quite a big change as the older generations tended to follow the syncretic version of Islam.

With regard to Javanese identity, all agree that being a Javanese means to be holistically Javanese. That is, to come from a family of Javanese descent is of course a pre-requisite condition to be a Javanese, but the most important factor in a real Javanese identity is to enact Javanese by speaking the language, acting in accordance with Javanese manners, and embracing Javanese traditions. However, these traditions must not be in conflict with religious practice because religious identity will be prioritized. This opinion is especially true for Suharti, Hastuti, Nindya, and Rahman, though Rahman suggests minimizing the problem by applying some modifications in order to keep the tradition while also not violating religious rules. Bayu is the only one who is still faithful to Javanese tradition and in fact, he is the only one in the family who is still completely loyal to it. This finding suggests that the transformation of Javanese society is apparent even inside the palace fortress.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the meso layer, especially the local language planning and policy (LPP) in Yogyakarta and the pedagogical practices in two middle schools to understand the place of Javanese language in formal education and to examine the agency roles of the teachers as mediators to disseminate national and local LPP.

CHAPTER 6

REVEALING THE MESO LEVEL: A VIEW FROM TWO SCHOOLS

While chapter 4 and 5 elaborated the micro level language planning and policy (LPP) and its relations with Javanese language and identity among villagers, teachers, and a member of the elite, this chapter focuses on the meso layer of the LPP, specifically the local LPP and pedagocial practices in two middle schools in Yogyakarta to understand the place of Javanese language in formal education and to examine the agency roles of the teachers as a mediator to disseminate national and local LPP. In the first part of chapter 6, I explain LPP in the meso level by focusing on Javanese LPP. The second part of the chapter is to provide detailed desriptions of pedagocial practices in the two schools including ethnographic settings of the schools, daily linguistic repertoires, and the implementation of LPP in the class.

Javanese Language Policy

Javanese has been taught in schools since the period of the Dutch and the Japanese occupations and was the primary means of communication in schools specifically in three provinces−Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java. After the independence of Indonesia, especially in the Old Order era, Indonesian was appointed as the language of instruction but Javanese could still be used as a medium of teaching and learning in elementary schools. In the New Order period (1966-1998), the language no longer became the language of instruction in schools. Nonetheless, it was still taught in elementary and middle schools whereas in high schools, only students who majored in Language Studies must take this subject whereas students who were in Science and Social Science streams were not required to take this class. In college, Javanese is until

now only taught for students of Javanese literature and Javanese language education programs. In addition, there are only three universities in Indonesia, all are state-owned, which still have a Javanese program; one university in the province of Central Java and two universities in the province of Yogyakarta.

Because of the diminishing role of Javanese language, Javanese language teachers and supporters of Javanese language maintenance organized *Kongres Bahasa Jawa* or Javanese Language Congress every five years. The commitment of the Congress' participants to promote their native language was evident in the fifth Congress carried out in Surabaya, East Java in 2011 where all participants were not allowed to use other languages but Javanese (Wibawa, 2011). In the past, almost all participants delivered their speech in Indonesian because they were not accustomed to using Javanese for public speaking. Hizbul Wathon, the chair of the Congress found this practice ironic because the Congress discussed the strategies to maintain Javanese but all conference attendants spoke Indonesian (Wibawa, 2011). In addition to this, participants who came from Suriname, a country in South America, who all were Javanese descents and Javanese speakers did not understand Indonesian because none of these delegates spoke this language (Wibawa, 2011).

The fact that the majority of the participants were more comfortable to speak in Indonesian than Javanese was as a contradiction to what happened in the Youth Congress in 1928 which declared the participants' loyalty to the one nation, one culture, and one language by choosing Indonesian over their mother tongues as the language of the Congress even though everyone was not fluent in Indonesian. In 2011, 83 years after the Youth Pledge (see chapter 2, sub-section Nationalist discourse of indigeneity), the

Congress attendants who were more comfortable to use Indonesian especially for public speaking declared their loyalty to their mother tongue, Javanese, and proved it by using the language throughout the Congress. *Kongres Bahasa Jawa* also advocates efforts to promote Javanese as a mandatory subject at least until high school (Wibawa, 2011). The diminishing fluency in Javanese, especially *Krama* and the alienation from Javanese culture among the Javanese young generation drove the Congress to convince the provincial government to be more focused on language-in-education planning since the school is an ideal place to effectively foster the regional language among young generation who are the future maintainer of their native language (Wibawa, 2011). In fact, since the first Congress held in 1991 until the last one in 2011, they always declare the needs to disseminate Javanese language to all students in elementary to secondary education (Wibawa, 2013).

In response to the Congress's demands, on March 29th, 2005 the Governor of the Province of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, issued a decree number 423.5/0912 which officially mandated all elementary, middle, and high schools in Yogyakarta to offer Javanese language subject as a manifestation of the local identity (Ekowati, 2007). The decision to intensively foster Javanese through the medium of education was officially supported by the Indonesian government through the Ministerial Decree number 32 in 1999 Regional Autonomy specifying regional autonomy of the local government to promote their local potentials including linguistic resources. The Ministerial Decree number 24 in 2009, specifically article 42 (see Appendix B for complete contents of the Decree) further expressed the commitment of the Indonesian government to promote all regional languages.

Article 42

(1) Local governments shall develop, enhance, and protect local languages and literatures so that they may continue to fulfill their social positions and functions in community life according to the development of the era and in order to maintain its place within Indonesia's cultural richness.

(2) The development, enhancement, and protection as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be performed gradually, systematically, and sustainably by local governments under the coordination of language institutions.

(3) More precise provisions for the development, enhancement, and protection referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

The above decree is actually not the only set of regulations supporting regional language education. Several years before that, in 2003 the government issued the Ministerial Decree Number 20 whose its 33th article points out that local languages can be used as a language of instruction in classes if needed especially in the first and second year of elementary education. The article 37 of the same decree also stipulates that curriculum for elementary and secondary education must contain language subjects comprising of Indonesian, a local language spoken in the area, and a foreign language. This decree is supported by the government regulation number 19 issued in 2005 highlighting the importance of local language education to maintain language diversity in Indonesia. In fact, the government's support toward multilingualism and multiculturalism is well documented in the Constitution of Indonesia 1945 declared soon after the independence. The article 32 of the Constitution clearly states that:

Negara menghormati dan memelihara bahasa daerah sebagai kekayaan budaya nasional.

The state shall respect and preserve local languages as national cultural treasures.

Despite the commitment to maintain local languages especially through the medium of formal education, the government launched a new curriculum in 2013 which to some extent changes the existence of local language teaching in general and Javanese language in particular (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). The 2013 Curriculum is designed to minimize the number of subjects taught in schools by classifying the subjects into two categories−required subjects and additional ones (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). Because I focus on Javanese language teaching in middle schools, I will not discuss subjects taught in elementary and high schools. In middle schools, there are now seven main subjects (Religion and Ethics, *Pancasila* 'the Five Philosophical Foundation of Indonesia' and Citizenship Education, Indonesian, Mathematics, Life Sciences, Social Sciences, and English) and three additional subjects (Arts and Culture including local content, Physical Education and Health, and Craft) (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013).

Javanese language which used to be an independent subject must be integrated in Arts and Culture as a local content subject although this new course must also incorporate knowledge about customs, tradition, dance, and music (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). With an array of topics that must be covered in two hours meeting per week, Javanese language teachers expressed their disagreement with the new curriculum (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). In addition to that, the 2013 Curriculum gives total freedom for the local government whether or not to include regional languages into the local content in Arts and Culture subject since the new curriculum states: *Muatan Lokal dapat diisi dengan*

Bahasa Daerah or "The local content can contain local language." The use of modal 'can' instead of 'must' indicates the freedom for every province to choose subjects they will include in their local content. Thus, it might be their regional language or something else.

As a reaction to the implementation of the 2013 Curriculum, Javanese language teachers in Yogyakarta pushed the provincial government to support the existence of Javanese language in schools (Kusuma, 2013; Panggabean, 2013; Sujatmiko, 2013). The Governor of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, positively responded to Javanese language teachers' demand and issued a decree number 64 in 2013 to regulate Javanese language education in elementary to secondary educations. The decree officially declares that Javanese language is a mandatory local content to be taught in all private and public schools from elementary to secondary level of education. In addition, it also determines five objectives of Javanese language education. First, it aims at honing Javanese language competence of the students so they can communicate effectively and efficiently as well as grammatically and sociopragmatically appropriate. Second, through Javanese language education students will be able to appreciate their native language as a symbol of regional pride and identity and to use it as a medium of communication. Third, it aims at enabling the students to use Javanese as a means to improve their intellectual competence, emotional and social maturity. Fourth, Javanese language education is an avenue to understand Javanese literature and culture which will improve students' ethical behavior and broaden their knowledge. Finally, by learning Javanese students are expected to appreciate Javanese language and literature as cultural and intellectual treasure for Indonesia. The decree also indicates that there must be a regular evaluation to

assess students' competence and the grade must be documented in the student's academic report (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013).

The decree also requires teachers to conduct teaching and learning activities in an interesting, interactive, and communicative way to attract young generation to maintain their native language (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). Moreover, Javanese language teaching must also be contextual and relevant so that they can apply it in their life for their character development which in fact is the primary goal of the 2013 Curriculum in addition to foster ethics, morality, and spirituality of the students as stated in the Ministry of Education's Decree number 68 in 2013 (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013). To achieve these expectations, the approach for Javanese language teaching emphasizes on the meaning-making process in order to not overwhelm the students with an array of information about the language per se but to focus on values and cultural essence of the language itself to develop positive characters of the students (Suyitno, 2013; Wibawa, 2013).

To execute the ideas of Javanese language teaching aiming at meaning-making process and to promote students' positive characters, *Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran* (henceforth MGMP) or Organization of Subject Teachers in the Province of Yogyakarta is responsible to transform these ideas into teaching guidelines specifying teaching objectives, teaching materials, and evaluation process. This organization is responsible to deciding the textbook which students will use so all students in all regencies within this province will receive the same learning materials. Then, the provincial MGMP will pass on the task to the MGMP office branch in each regency to adjust the teaching guidelines in accordance with the situation in each regency. These guidelines become the foundation

for Javanese language teachers to develop *Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran* (henceforth RPP) or Learning Implementation Plan which they use as a step-by-step guide in their classrooms.

Although Javanese language is appointed to be a mandatory local content in the Province of Yogyakarta, the decree does not state any consequences for a school which does not follow the regulation. The middle school where Rayhan goes, the son of Hartono who is my participant in Gemah village, does not offer Javanese language subject at all. Instead, the school uses the hours supposed to be allocated for the local content subject to teach Arabic and additional Islamic subjects because the school is a private Islamic school. The local content is also filled with computer and internet classes to familiarize the students with technology. To convey an impression that the school follows the regulation, the school assigns a weekly homework. The assignment is taken from Javanese language textbooks precribed by the MGMP. Because it is a homework, students are free to ask for assistance from their parents or anyone. Moreover, the most important thing for the school is that the homework is done and submitted whereas *how* and *what* the students learned from it are not the main concern. At the end of every semester, a take-home exam applying the same rule as the weekly homework is carried out.

When I asked Rayhan what his grade was in Javanese, he told me that everyone in the class received good grade regardless of their actual competence in Javanese. He added that he mostly asked his parents to help him to do the weekly assignments and exams because he did not really understand the content of the textbook in addition to his insufficient knowledge about Javanese language and culture. It is evident that the school

is only concerned about providing written academic reports to document the students' "progress" because submitting such documents to the Department of Education is mandatory. Furthermore, I argue that the 2013 Curriculum which indicates that the local content *can* (not *must*) contain the regional language has caused the school to not select Javanese to be their local content. In addition, the fact that the school is an Islamic one drives them to highlight the school's religious identity. I did not have enough evidence to claim that this situation also occured in other private schools. For future research, it is essential to incorporate observations in private schools, regardless of whether the schools are religious based or not, to examine how the schools interpret Javanese language education: is it an avenue to maintain language and culture or is it simply a way to fulfill the regulation?

Pedagocial Practices

In this section, I will elaborate the findings of my observations in South School and North School and interviews with the teachers to examine the place of Javanese language in schools and the roles of the teachers to spread Javanese within the national and local LPP framework. It is important to know how Javanese is actually positioned in the school domain which is reflected by the oral and written linguistic repertoire in both schools. It is also essential to investigate the implementation of LPP in the class by the teachers whose approaches in spreading the language must be influenced by their background and the environment.

South School

South School, located in a village less than ten minutes driving from Gemah village, is quite hidden from the main road. I was accompanied by my brother when I first

went to this school because I was too afraid to ride my motorcylce due to the crowded traffic from my parents' home to South school. In fact, either my brother or my sister always took me to the school for observations and picked me up afterwards. When my brother and I left for the school to introduce myself to the school principal and to the Javanese language teachers, we were almost lost as the wooden sign on the side of the road directing to the location of the school was too small compared to the neighboring gigantic advertisement boards. The school is surrounded by paddy fields in its front and left side. In the back and right sides, some villagers' houses become the closest neighbors of the school. As our car approached the school, a Javanese style gate called *gapura* welcome us in the front yard where a big banyan tree and a couple of pine trees are planted. I saw some motorcycles and one car were parked under the banyan tree which provided enough shade for the parked vehicles from the tropical heat. Instinctively, we also parked our car on that strategic parking spot although I did not see any parking sign.

At my first arrival to the school, a security staff who sat on the reception desk asked me to sign a visitor guest book and inquired my purpose of visiting the school. After I showed him the letter of permission to do research from Tirta regency government, then he took me to the principal's office. The next times I visited and throughout my observations, the security staff never asked me again to sign the visitor guest book. He simply greeted me in a friendly manner in Indonesian language *Selamat pagi!* 'Good morning!' and let me proceed directly to the teachers' room located at the opposite side of the reception desk across the basketball court.

South School which offers classes for 7th, 8th, and 9th graders divides each grade into eight classes, classes A to H, with the average class size 26 students per class. The

total number of students is 645; 313 are males and 332 are females while the total numbers of teachers and non-academic staffs are 58 and 11 respectively. The student population is relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religions with almost 100 per cent are Javanese and 98 per cent are Muslims.

The school is composed of new building units built after the earthquake struck Yogyakarta in 27 May 2006 claiming more than three thousand lives (Dinas Kesehatan DIY, 2013). This school, which was terribly affected by this natural catastrophy, lost almost all of its buildings. As a consequence, for several months the students were forced to study in tents. In response to this, the Indonesian government and international organizations help the rehabilitation of the school so the teaching and learning could be carried out normally. In fact, the rehabilitation project has allowed the school to provide better facilities for students with disability, such as special path for blind students and wheelchair-friendly environment.

The facilities to meet the needs for students with disability are rarely found in Indonesia. Therefore, I was eager to find out why this school is motivated to do so. According to Hastuti, since 1980s the school has already been known for its open door policy for the students with disability. However, at that time the school was not yet officially labelled as an inclusive school and still lack of facilities to accommodate them. More than one decade ago, the school was officially granted the inclusive status resulting to the provision of facilities for the students with disability from the government. The facilities were even better improved after the earthquake because of the contribution from international organizations.

Apart from being an inclusive school, South School is also appointed by the local government of Tirta as a school for athletes. In Indonesia, the availability of special schools to accommodate the academic need of student-athletes is limited. Usually athletes, whether amateur or professional, will go to regular schools at the expense of their academic performance for they have to be frequently absent from class to participate in sport competitions. In response to this, the local government of Tirta dedicated to meet the special need of these athletes by appointing few schools, one of which is South School, in their jurisdiction to accept student-athletes. During the time of my observation, there was only one student-athlete (a motor racer) in grade 9. In the past, according to Suharti, several football (soccer) players were registered in this school.

Pedagogical practices outside the classroom. I usually arrived 30 minutes early for my classroom observation to wait for Hastuti and Suharti in the lobby of the teachers' room where teachers usually receive their guests. I intentionnaly came early to give myself time to observe the dynamic of the linguistic repertoire in this room. When I looked around the lobby, I saw three pictures of Indonesian national heroes who fought against the Dutch imperialism were hung on one side of the wall. On another side, a map of Indonesian archipelago was pinned against the wall while on top of it I could find official photographs of the President of Indonesia, the Vice President, and *Garuda* (Javan eagle), the national symbol of Indonesia. To strengthen the atmosphere of nationalism, the Indonesian flag was flown vertically on a wooden flagpole in the corner of the room.

While observing the visual objects in this room, I came across with an interesting finding. My eyes captured a paper board containing the family tree of Prophet Muhammad which was taped to the wall next to the flagpole. As an Indonesian who was

educated in Indonesia since elementary to tertiary educations, I am not alien with visual messages conveying nationalism in educational institutions regardless of whether they are private or state-owned. However, I had never come across with overt religious visual message in a public school like the one I found here.

A public school in Indonesia is officially not based on any religious principles but to meet the religious needs of the students, a Religion subject is offered in accordance with the religious view of the students. For example, it is mandatory for a Muslim student to take Islamic studies while the Hindu students must enroll in Hinduism class. Because of my discovery in the teachers' room, I decided to find out whether similar messages also spread around the school. When I took a closer look at the school, I could see that religious visual messages in the forms of prayers in Arabic along with its Indonesian translation were placed in some strategic spots such as on the wall in the lobby, library, computer room and even toilet's doors.

Another evidence of the inclination toward religion is that Muslim female students and teachers in the school wore headscarves and outfits in line with Islamic rules. I learned from Suharti and Hastuti that the local authority of Tirta regency mandatorily instructed all female Muslim students and teachers to wear outfits in accordance with Islamic rules while female non-Muslim teachers must also choose a modest outfits. Male students and teachers regardless of their religions must also follow the rule accordingly, i.e. long sleeve shirts and knee-length pants.

Since I did not know about this rule before, in the first day of my observation I wore a formal short sleeve shirt. But when I looked around, I found myself as the only woman who wore a short sleeve shirt. Even male students and teachers regardless of their

religion wore long sleeve uniforms or shirts respectively. Frankly, I felt quite uncomfortable to look different among the crowd because I did not want to give impression of being disrespectful to the common practice in the school. Because of that, I decided to always wear a long sleeve shirt the next time I came for observations.

I also found that teachers openly encouraged students during the class or outside the class to carry out *Dhuha* prayer in the school's prayer room−a prayer conducted after the sun rises until around 8 a.m aiming at strengthening piety. In fact, the call to perform *Dhuha* prayer becomes a public movement in Tirta regency as I witnessed it on the way to South School where a lot of banners along the road called for all Muslims to regularly perform *Dhuha* prayer. Another finding related to religion was that free classes for *Qur'an* reading organized by the Muslim Student Association was received positive responses from students.

Apart from the apparent religious messages represented by the use of Arabic, other signs used Indonesian (to inform, e.g. direction for evacuation and announcement; to pass on positive values, e.g. motivational quotes) and English (to disseminate positive value, e.g. motivational quotes) while Javanese was absent from the written linguistic repertoire in the school. The absence of Javanese in written domain proves Zentz' s claim (2012) that the language is merely viewed as a daily talk, not an academic language. The fact that it has no place in written linguistic repertoire of an educational institution is thus not surprising. However, Zentz's opinion (2012) is directed to Javanese *Ngoko* but not for Javanese *Krama* which she indicated as a language to learn. Because of that, I expected to see a visual sign in Javanese *Krama* to play the same role as Indonesian and English but the finding suggests that even Javanese *Krama* does not have a place anymore in written

linguistic repertoire in the meso-level domain. Nonetheless, I am aware that it is premature to have such a claim as I need more empirical evidence from other schools to back up my opinion.

Figure 20. Religious messages in South School: A prayer before studying (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 21. Religious messages in South School: A prayer to enter the toilet

(Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 22. Female Muslim students in South School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Regarding the oral linguistic repertoire, the primary languages of communication outside the class were Javanese and Indonesian. Students used Javanese *Ngoko Lugu* to talk to each other and sometimes mixed with Indonesian. When they ran into a teacher outside the class or when they intentionally met with a teacher in the teachers' office, students might select Javanese *Krama*, Indonesian, or mixed of *Krama* and Indonesian. Similar linguistic repertoire was also presented by teachers who chose Javanese *Krama, Ngoko* (both *Lugu* and *Alus*), and Indonesian depending on the context. For example, for younger teachers would choose *Krama* when they talked to older teachers while the older ones would response in *Ngoko*. Teachers of the same age would use *Ngoko*. All teachers also mixed Javanese with Indonesian. I never attended a meeting in South School, therefore I do not know whether Indonesian, Javanese, or both were used.

Pedagogical practices inside the classroom. The first thing I noticed in the class was that a set of wooden table and chair. It reminded me of my school years. There were sixteen sets of wooden table and chair in each class where each set was occupied by two students. Since the availability of tables and chairs outnumbers the students, usually there was at least one set unoccupied. Even though there was no seating arrangement rule, all students chose to sit with their peers of the same gender. The classrooms were all spacious and full of natural sunlight penetrating through the glass windows. Because of the humidity and high temperature, which was roughly around 90 degree Fahrenheit during the time of my observation, all the windows were left open to let the wind enter the room while the only electric fan attached on the ceiling was also turned on to alleviate the heat. It is common in public schools in Indonesia that classrooms usually are not equipped with air conditioning system.

All classes in this school had standard properties which include a television set next to the whiteboard, the photographs of the president and the vice president of Indonesia above the white board. Between these leaders' photographs, a picture of *Garuda* was hung whereas the Indonesian flag was placed in the corner front of the class. Also, there are approximately ten posters of national heroes pinned on the left and right side of the wall almost close to the ceiling. A couple of motivational quotes in Indonesian were also present, for example, in grade 9 class H, I found the following quote: *Hapus kata tidak bisa* 'Erase the word unable'.

Figure 23. Inside the classroom in South School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

In all classes I observed, there was always one or two religious quotes written either in Arabic or in Indonesian. For instance, in grade 8 class F, an Arabic caligraphy without any Indonesian translation was hung on the wall in the back of the class and a religious message written purely in Indonesian was also present: *Sholatlah sebelum kamu*

disholatkan which literally means ‘pray before you are prayed’. *Sholat* is a mandatory ritual of praying for Muslims derives from Arabic words. Therefore, the quote aims at calling for all Muslim students to not leave this ritual before it is too late for them. When a Muslim died, s/he will not be able to pray/to do *sholat* for themselves anymore; instead it is other Muslims who will perform *sholat* on behalf of the deceased during the memorial service. This findings suggest that, for the school’s written linguistic repertoire, Indonesian has the same function as Arabic to pass on Islamic values. English inside the classroom played the same role as it does outside the classroom, to pass on positive values by using proverbs like “Experience is the best teacher,” “When there is a will, there is a way.” Again, Javanese was absent inside the classsroom.

Student segregation. One important finding is that the school intentionally segregates the students with particular characteristics into one class; that is, class H in every grade is intended to cluster the students with physical disability, students who are considered low achievers (those who do not pass the test to continue to the next grade), non-Muslim students, student-athletes, and non-Javanese speakers. Thus, students who fall under one or more of these categories will never be placed in other classes but H. For example, a high achiever but a non-Javanese speaker will be sent to class H.

According to Suharti and Hastuti, this practice is simply a practical way for the teachers to better equip themselves with sufficient preparation before teaching class H. If these students are distributed in all classes equally, not only will teachers need more preparation time as every time they teach in class H there will be at least one special need student in the class but also teachers will be mentally exhausted. In contrast, clustering these students into one class will save teachers’ time to prepare the materials which meet

the specific needs of the students. It will also minimize burnouts since teachers will meet the students at least once a week not every day. In short, according to these two Javanese language teachers, this practice does not aim at labelling particular students as different in a negative way. It has simply to do with pragmatic strategies for teaching management for all teachers not only for Javanese language teachers.

Despite the teachers' assurance that the practice of grouping particular students into one class does not mean to harm the students, I argue that this practice reflects unfair treatment to these students because of two reasons. Firstly, the students are unavoidably labelled as "different" by the rest of the school population even though no one says it aloud. To have physical disability, different linguistic background, to be religiously minority, or to be academically less successful are perceived a disability which requires the students to be concentrated in one room. Secondly, these students have to receive lessons from demotivated teachers who feel overwhelmed to teach the class. One obvious evidence is when teachers explain the lesson to the students with physical disability.

In the past, they did not encounter this problem because only blind students went to this school because the school's location is near to a rehabilitation center for the blind people. According to Suharti and Hastuti, students with this physical disability could follow the lessons very well without being fully dependent on their teachers. Likewise, it was also less burdensome for the teachers since they did not have to learn Braille to communicate with the students in the class. When there was a written assignment or test, the teachers would read aloud if the test materials were short but when the materials were long, they could request for a Braille interpreter from the rehabilitation center to transfer it into Braille. After that, the teachers would distribute the written test to the students who

answered it in Braille while an intrepreter transformed their answers into regular characters.

However, for the last few years, it has been the hearing impaired students who enroll to the school while at the same time all teachers are not equipped with sufficient knowledge to accommodate the need of these students. The school conducts only a one-day-training at the beginning of the academic year for all teachers to learn sign language and to understand the needs of the hearing impaired students. This of course does not yield a fruitful result as all teachers fail to understand the sign language. As a consequence, these disabled students are forced to understand the lesson by reading teachers' lips because the teachers' sign language competence is zero.

For Hastuti, Suharti, and other language teachers, it is definitely challenging to teach these students because learning non-sign language requires speaking skills. Thus, teachers often feel exhausted to always enunciate as clearly as possible every word they utter so these students could take notes. In the end, teachers mostly pass on the responsibility to the hearing students who sit next to their hearing impaired classmates to repeat what they explain. According to Suharti and Hastuti, it is better to assign hearing students to help their hearing-impaired peers because they interact everyday. Because of frequent interaction with their hearing-impaired friends, teachers assume that hearing students are more accustomed to seeing sign language than the teachers. However, based on my observation, the hearing students were often so occupied with the lesson that the task to help their disabled peers was not prioritized. Another challenge is that the curriculum requires the following assignments to be included: reading Javanese poems, role-play, singing traditional Javanese songs. However it is of course not ethical to ask

these students to do such assignment. In response to this, teachers discount these students from any speaking assignments to adjust the students' condition.

Another issue is related to the inclusion of the religiously minority groups in the teaching and learning activity. To realize the goal of the 2013 Curriculum which is to emphasize on the characters development and to operationalize the guides from MGMP, South School responded to this by inserting religious messages in its teaching and learning activities. Although the curriculum did not specify the definition of characters development, Suharti and Hastuti intrepreted it as being religious related to Islam due to the influence of their own religious background and the fact that almost 100 per cent of the students and teachers populations are Muslims. As a result, they often forgot to include non-Muslim students especially during the checking up session.

In the checking up session, both teachers asked some religious based questions, e.g. who missed the morning prayer which the Muslims called as *sholat subuh,* who went to Friday prayer in the mosque, and so forth. After one session of observation was done, I asked Suharti and Hastuti why check-up questions for non-Muslim students were not available. They stated that they never excluded non-Muslim students during that session although findings suggested the contrary. In my second time of observation, due to being aware of my presence, both teachers finally asked some questions to these religiously minority students whether on Sunday they went to church and what they did there. However, in the next meetings, these teachers again did not include these students in the conversation because I did not remind them about it.

Another challenge Suharti and Hastuti faced was that low achiever students seemed to be not interested in taking part in the class activity. Instead, they were busy

doing other things such as doodling, talking to their friends sitting next to them, or they fell asleep during the lesson. Because of that, Suharti and Hastuti paid more attention to these students in order to make them more engaged to the class activity. Besides this challenge, both teachers must also focus on the student-athlete and non Javanese speakers to make sure they could follow the lessons well. With these overwhelming tasks, Suharti and Hastuti often felt demotivated before going to class H. Suharti once said to me when we were on our way to class H that she felt tired already. From the elaboration above, two issues are worth examining, namely Islamisation of public education and inclusive education. However, by considering that these topics are not the focus of my dissertation, I did not further investigate these issues.

Implementation of LPP in the South School's Javanese language class. To find out how LPP is implemented at the meso level, I observed two classes in each grade and acted as a pure observer without being involved in the teaching activity. For every observation, I chose to sit at the back of the room and stayed there from the beginning until the end of the class. The first thing I noticed is that the language used during the teaching and learning activity was entirely Javanese *Ngoko* and *Krama*. The teachers spoke in *Ngoko* while students used *Krama*. I found that all students still have sufficient proficiency in Javanese speech levels although both teachers claimed that their students' proficiency diminished sharply as opposed to their students in the last five to ten years ago. Nonetheless, these current students did not find it difficult to understand their teachers' explanation unlike students in North school who often requested their teachers to repeat their explanation in Indonesian (see the next section entitled "North school).

RPP (see the section entitled “Javanese language” at the beginning of this chapter) , composed by Suharti and Hastuti, becomes their primary reference for the day-to-day teaching and learning every year. For every academic year, they create two RPPs which is used for the odd semester (August-December) and the even semester (January-June) respectively. Every school, not only South School, is free to develop their own RPP based on their students’ needs as long as the primary content of RPP follows the guidelines from MGMP. In this school, Hastuti is responsible to develop RPP for grade 8 and 9 whereas Suharti is in charge for grade 7. The teaching arrangements between Suharti and Hastuti are the followings: Hastuti teaches grade 9 while Suharti teaches grade 7. For grade 8, the classes are divided equally between Suharti and Hastuti. Since each Javanese class is taught for two credit hours, in total each teacher spends 24 credit hours of teaching per week excluding the time to prepare the teaching materials, evaluating students’ progress, developing mid and final tests, and grading. It is worth noting that one credit hour equals to 45 minutes.

The RPP contains general information of the lesson for each meeting such as skills taught (i.e. reading, writing, speaking, listening), objectives of the lesson, specific teaching lessons (i.e. Javanese literature, grammar, conversation), time allocation, teaching aids, and evaluation process (i.e written quiz, oral test, homeworks). But the most important part of the RPP for the teachers are the step-by-step teaching guides which specified in details the actions the teacher must perform from the beginning until the end of the class. These steps obediently follow the ICARE method which stands for Introduction, Connection, Application, Reflection, and Extension suggested by the Ministry of Education to accommodate the character development education. It is worth

noting that this teaching method is also applied to other subjects, not only Javanese language.

In the introduction phase, teachers give an overview of the lesson for that particular meeting, such as what the students are going to learn, the purpose of learning it, and the target to achieve by learning the lesson. In the connection stage, teachers are expected to connect the competence which students achieve from learning the previous lesson with the current lesson. The biggest proportion of the teaching and learning activities is dedicated for the application phase where the students apply and practice what they are learning. In this stage, students are expected to be active, critical, and able to work individually or in groups. During the reflection session, teachers will summarize the lesson while students have the opportunity to briefly explain either written or spoken what they have learned that day. In the last step, extension, teachers give homework for the students to further practice the skills they have just learned. The extension activities may include but not limited to reading task, doing exercise in the textbook, and writing assignment.

The following is one example of the step-by-step guides in the RPP for grade 7 for the subject lesson Javanese poetry, which originally is written in Indonesian language: I. Introduction (Objective: To disseminate religious way of life, discipline, orderly manner, and honesty; Time: 5 minutes)

1. Apperception

-Greeting students

-Ask how students are, who woke up late that day, who missed the morning prayers, what they did last night (i.e. studying? just watching TV the whole night?, playing online games?)

2. Motivation

Encourage students to be familiar with Javanese poetry especially a poem known as *Kinanthi* which traditionally is recited as a song.

II. Connection (Objective: To spread religious and racial tolerance and to treat people equally and fairly regardless of their socioeconomic background; Time: 5 minutes)

III. Application (Objective: To make friends/To be able to communicate courteously and to respect each other; Time: 25 minutes)

1. Exploration: Teachers explain the forms and rules in composing a Kinanthi.
2. Elaboration: Teachers divide students into several groups, lead the discussion, and make sure every student participate actively in the discussion

IV. Reflection (Objective: To spread message about peace, to teach students about being kind to others manifested through the students' behavior and courteous speaking skills; Time: 5 minutes)

-Teachers summarize the lesson to make students understand more about *Kinanthi*.

-Post test: Teachers carry out either an oral or written quiz and students must work in group. Teachers give the following questions:

a. Mention the rules of this Kinanthi. (Teachers provide one Kinanthi for students to analyze)

b. Explain the meaning of the underlined words in this Kinanthi.

c. Find the synonyms of the underlined words.

d. Explain the message conveyed by this Kinanthi.

e. Choose one member of your group to sing correctly this Kinanthi.

V. Extension (Objective: To make students learn about responsibility; Time: 5 minutes)

Assignment in class: Assign the students to read Kinanthi together.

The RPP above shows that religious and moral mesages predominate the content of RPP.

The RPP guides teachers to make sure that religious contents are applied in every activity in the class from the beginning until the end of the meeting. Based on my observation, both Suharti and Hastuti successfully achieved the RPP objective as all classes in all grades had thick religious atmosphere. For example, before the classes started, the students did not say "good morning" in Javanese language (*sugeng enjang*); instead, they greeted the teachers with Islamic greeting *assalamu'alaikum* 'peace be upon you' and the teachers responded accordingly in Arabic *wa'alaikum salaam* 'and to peace be upon you too'. Likewise, when the class was over, *assalamu'alaikum* was selected to close the meeting. When the Javanese language was the last subject that day, right after the class was dismissed, the students stood in line to kiss the teachers' right hand to show respect (which is a common practice for Indonesian Muslims) before they headed home. These practices were also apparent in class H where the students came from more diverse religious and ethnic background. In fact the hand kissing practice was maintained outside the classroom too. Whenever students ran into a teacher in the hallway or intentionally came to the teachers' room to meet a teacher, they would kiss their teachers' hand before they greeted him/her.

After the greetings, the teachers obediently followed the step-by-step guide in the RPP, for instance checking the attendance list, completion of homework, students' commitment to study hard, and their religious activities (see the vignette in the following page). According to Suharti and Hastuti, the introduction phase allowed them to hone the students' speaking competence in *Krama* which now they rarely used in their everyday linguistic repertoire because the prescribed textbook primarily offered teaching materials related to grammar, Javanese alphabets, literature, knowledge about tradition, and customs. Thus, during the introduction, the teachers expected students answer the questions in Javanese *Krama* to be used to using it for daily conversation. That is, both teachers used the first part of the meeting for the contextual speaking session while at the same time they still followed the RPP guidelines by asking questions as suggested in the RPP. However, it took around ten minutes for Hastuti and Suharti to enable them to involve every student's participation whereas in the RPP the portion of introduction is allocated for five minutes only.

As I previously mentioned, throughout the period of my observation I found that both teachers always asked questions relevant only for Muslims such as who missed *sholat Shubuh* (the morning prayer for Muslim) that morning, who always did *Dhuha* prayer in school, or who prayed for their parents after *sholat*, and so forth in addition to questions about being good students and sons/daughters. The following vignette shows the activity at the beginning of the class which contains thick religious messages.

Apperception session

Hastuti: *Sak durunge diwiwiti, ibu arep takon "Sopo sing mau esuk sholat subuh*?

Hastuti: Before we start, I want to ask you "who prayed *subuh* this morning?" (Note: Subuh is morning prayer practiced by Muslims)

Hastuti received various answers from students. Some of them woke up late so they missed the morning prayer while others said they did.

Hastuti: *Mulane yen nonton* TV *ojo wengi-wengi. Dadi telat subuhan to? Ojo lali ndonga nggo wong tuwane dewe, ya? Dadi bocah sing nggenah. Ojo kakehan dolanan* game *utowo nonton* TV. *Sinau sing sregep!*

Hastuti: So please don't watch TV until late. That makes you miss the morning prayer right? Don't forget to pray for your parents. Be a good son/daughter. Don't play games or watch TV too much. Study hard!

(Classroom Observation Notes-South School, September 22, 2012)

This is a typical question asked during apperception session at the beginning of the class. The type of questions the teachers raised generally are strongly connected to the Muslims' daily life. While these questions are relevant for the majority of the students, the religiously minority students in class H are somehow left out from the conversation. As a result, these students cannot have equal chance to practice their speaking skills in Javanese *Krama* during the introduction phase which in fact is the only time in the meeting where they could engage in contextual daily life conversation.

The influence of the teachers' religious identity as well as the Islamic atmosphere of the school is also obvious in the application phase. For example, the Kinanthi selected

contains religious messages. It is about the importance of pure heart, a familiar subject in all religions.

Kang aran bebuden luhur,
Dudu pangkat dudu ngelmi,
Uga dudu kepinteran
Lan dudu para winasis
Apamaneh kasugihan
Nanging mung sucining ati
Honorable behavior,
Neither knowledge
Nor intellectuality
And intelligence
It is not at all material wealth
But it is pure heart

When Suharti discussed the *Kinanthi* above, she used the term *takwa* (Indonesian word derives from Arabic) which means being pious. Then she asked the students to brainstorm ideas on how to be pious and to give examples of their every day's religious practices which would lead to pure heart and things which would erode the piety. In response to this, students explained their opinion which all corelated with Islamic values. For example, to pray regularly, to obey parents, to do fasting, to donnate money to charity and to mosques.

For the next meeting, Suharti taught her students another old Javanese poem whose content was about the cycle of life from the perspective of Islam. Again, Islamic

messages were strongly influenced the discussion in the class. Since Islam was introduced in Java in eleventh century through music, songs, poetry, dances, and other types of traditional performances, it is common to find symbolic Islamic messages in literary works or traditional performing arts. Because of that, it is also unavoidable to come across with Islam in Javanese language class when the lesson discusses Javanese literature and arts. Nevertheless, I believe that incorporating the religiously minority students in the discussion to know their interpretation of particular literary works on the basis of their own religious identity, something which they are familiar with, will help these students to confidently take part in the conversation to sharpen their Javanese *Krama*.

I also found that gender message was often disseminated in the class. For example, in one of the lessons, there was a reading task about how to respect each other on streets to avoid traffic accident. Hastuti used this opportunity to tell her students that men should protect women when they are on the street. For example, to help women cross a busy street, to be careful when riding a motor cycle or driving a car especially when there are female passengers. When Hastuti asked the students other responsibilities of men, she received answers which mainly indicated that men must be the breadwinner of the family, give good example for their children and wives, protect the family and the country, be the leader, and so forth. Feeling satisfied with the students' answers, Hastuti continued to tell the students that the most important role for women is to be the role model for their children and to be good wives. According to her, people whose mothers are not a good role model in the family will grow up to be away from the right path. Therefore, women's role is essential to build generation with high morality.

In another meeting, the students learned about a classic Javanese epic called Mahabharata. One of the episodes in Mahabharata told a story about a princess who fell pregnant outside of marriage; as a consequence of her going astray, she never found happiness in her life. To conclude, Hastuti reminded her female students that they will be future mothers who have responsibility to foster morality for their offsprings. From this elaboration, it is evident that the RPP attempted to achieve the goal of Javanese language education as prescribed by the the provincial education department, which is to develop ethics, moral, sprituality, and positive characters of the students, by inserting morality and religious messages from the beginning until the end of the class. The ethnographic background of the teachers has also led the class to have particular gender role concepts although the RPP did not explicitly suggest the kind of gender values to pass on.

Javanese language subject indeed carries so many tasks to execute, ranging from maintaining the language and culture to characters development of the students, that two hours per week is definitely not enough time. Despite this obstacle, both Suharti and Hastuti were able to deliver supreme performance in delivering the teaching materials in an interactive way resulting to high participation from the students, such as interactive discussion, role-playing, and even singing. For example, when the students discussed a reading text about Javanese tradition *gotong-royong* or communal work, they were assigned to work in group to do a role-play to depict what people do in the communal work. When Suharti taught Javanese poetry, *Kinanthi*, she did not only explain the poem but also beautifully sang it. After that, she led the class to sing along with her. The students were excited to do so and everyone seemed to enjoy this activity. I was amazed by Suharti all out efforts to introduce Javanese poetry to the students who were not

familiar at all with the it before. Moreover, I know exactly that to beautifully sing Javanese traditional poetry requires a lot of practices and determination. This experience has opened my eyes that a Javanese language teacher must possess not only the mastery of grammar, speech levels, and Javanese written characters but also thorough knowledge of Javanese literary works including the competence to perform Javanese poetry which must be recited by singing it.

The strong commitment exibited by Suharti and Hastuti surely yielded positive results as the students were actively engaged in the class activities. Furthermore, the students were also fluent to converse in *Krama*. However, the situation in class H was somewhat less satisfactory than other classes because the teachers were not equipped with sufficient preparation to assist disabled students. In addition, non Javanese students found it difficult to actively participate in the activities because of their limited Javanese. In addition to that, the teachers faced difficulty to invite the participation from the low achievers students who were not motivated to be involved in the class' activities. What happened in class H is truly worth investigating; however, due to time constraint I did not further examine the pedagogical practices of class H exclusively.

North School

Unlike in South School where I did not know anybody at first, North School is a familiar place for me as I spent three years of my junior high school here. Even some of my former teachers still worked there. The school is located only a stone's throw from my parents' home in Ripah village. It took about ten minutes walking from home to get to the school. However, I always went there by motorcycle during the period of my observation since the street is not pedestrian friendly, for instance: no sidewalks, no zebra

cross to cross the street, no traffic signs, while vehicles passing the streets all seem such in a hurry that only skillful drivers could survive in that kind of traffic where morotcylce, cars, public transportation all packed in a very narrow two way street. I was actually used to the traffic situation and in fact I used to be like those drivers and riders who could maneuver comfortably in the narrow and busy street. However, after two and a half years in the United States I lost my confidence riding my motorcycle on such a busy street. Every morning when I left for the North School, I felt so nervous to have to pass the street especially because all drivers and riders seemed very impatient to see me riding my motorcycle so slowly that they started to honk the horns.

Before I officially conducted my observations, I had already visited the school to introduce myself to the School Principal and to meet my former teachers including the Javanese language teacher, Darmawan. Therefore, on the first day of my observation, they already knew that I would come in the morning. Unfortunately, that day, I could not meet Darmawan because he had health problem which required him to be hospitalized for a week. Because of that, my former physical education teacher, Gunawan, helped me to take a brief tour of the school and to introduce me to the non academic staffs who would help me with the schools' demographic data.

The school occupies five old one-story-buildings, two of which (west and east wings) are used as classrooms, one for teachers' room, principal's office, and administrative office, one for multi purpose activities, and one for canteen as well as storage room. The school also has a small prayer room for Muslim students and Muslim teachers located behind the multi purpose building. Then, we proceeded to the new building. Unlike other buildings in the school which all were one level, the new building

is a two story with six classrooms in each floor. On the first floor, two classrooms were transformed into the school library while two other rooms were used as temporary office for twelve pre-service teachers who were conducting teaching internship at that time. The last two rooms in this floor were equipped with furniture but no teaching activity is carried out here. On the second floor, a computer lab occupied two classrooms whereas the rest of the classrooms were empty. According to Gunawan, the new building was built to accommodate new students for the upcoming academic calendar because the enrollment trend for this school keeps increasing.

I mentioned to Gunawan about the dramatic changes of the neighborhood around the school where green space is replaced by a significant number of commercial buildings and the street is no longer safe for students to walk or to ride their bicycle. I asked him whether there is a plan to move the school to a more safe area. Gunawan indicated that the school will not be relocated to another area because the current location is strategic enough to cater the educational needs for students who live in the vicinity in addition to its easy access both by personal vehicles or public transportation. Nevertheless, he admitted that now students do not have a chance to do cross-country run (which is a short marathon which include running along the street, passing the nearby villages, paddy fields, and sugar cane fields) because of the dimishing agricultural space as well as unsafe street. In the past Gunawan also used to take the students to the nearby soccer field but in the early 2000 the space has transformed into luxurious housing complex. Gunawan is actually unhappy with this situation because the students now only have limited choices of sports such as basketball or volleyball and indoor sports, for instance table tennis,

gymnastics or aerobics. The school has one adequate but not spacious outdoor space to be used for basketball and volleyball practices, one at a time.

Unlike South School, which divides each grade into eight classes, North School only has four classes for each grade, class A through D. Another difference is that North School is not an inclusive school; therefore, there is no student with disability enrolled here. The division of the class is also not based on students' religious, ethnic, or academic backgrounds but is simply based on an equal representation of female and male students in each class. The total number of the students is 398 students, 163 of which are male while the rest are female whereas the class size averagely is 33 students per class. For the daily teaching and learning activities, there are thirty teachers and seven non-academic staffs working for the school whereas twelve pre-service teachers for various teaching subjects (i.e. mathematcs, physics, social sciences, Javanese, English, Indonesian, physical education) assisted the teachers during their short term internship for approximately three months from June to end of August, 2012.

With regard to ethnic diversity, the school does not have the data but based on the information I received from Gunawan, Darmawan, and two Javanese language pre-teachers (Nindya and Rahman), I learned that in each class there is always at least two students who are not Javanese. In addition, several students in each class are Javanese but born and grew up in non-Javanese speaking regions. Likewise, almost all teachers belong to Javanese ethnic group. In terms of religious diversity, there are 349 Muslim students (87 per cent), 19 Catholics (4 per cent), 26 Christians/Protestants (6 per cent), while 3 and 1 other students are followers of Hinduism and Buddhism respectively.

Pedagogical practices outside the classroom. The majority of Muslim students in this school wear headscarves but some seventh graders and few students in eight grade choose to not cover their hair while all the female nine graders prefer to cover. According to Gunawan, there is no official instruction from Arga regency to order female Muslim students to wear headscarves but those who choose to do so are used to wearing it since they were in elementary schools. He added that students who do not cover in grade seven usually will change their mind over time because they want to look the same as their peers. Although teachers are also not required to wear Islamic outfits, all female teachers prefer to express their religious identity by wearing headscarves.

Contrary to the evidence in South School, North School does not display any visual Islamic messages both inside and outside the class. The school's Muslim prayer room is the only place where these religious messages are present. However, North School also exhibits the same linguistic attitude toward Javanese just like South School by giving no space for Javanese to exist in visual domains both inside and outside the class. All signs to spread motivation use Indonesian and English while informative signs are written only in Indonesian. Written moral messages are disseminated in Indonesian. To inform the name of vegetation, the school selects a universal language for botany, Latin.

Figure 24. A moral message written in Indonesian in North School: *Jangan segan untuk mengulurkan tangan/*Do not hesistate to lend a hand (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 25. A motivational quote in English in North School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 26. A sign containing the name of a plant written in Latin (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Despite having no visual religious messages and not obliging its female Muslim students to wear headscarves, every morning in the month of Ramadan from 7 to 7.15 am all Muslim students in each class, with the supervision of one pre-service teacher who coincidentally were all Muslims, were assigned to read the *Qur'an*. It is actually common among Muslims around the world to intensify their religious practices in the month of Ramadan because this period is considered a Holy month. However, to encourage only Muslim students to have religious activities everyday before the class started is not fair for religiously minority students. Therefore, the school decided to also include the non Muslim students to sharpen their own religious knowledge. Catholic and Christian students were supervised by a Catholic and a Christian teachers to do a Bible study in two separate classrooms while the Hindhu or Buddhist students were asked to read their Holy

books independently during this time in the school libary because no teachers in North School were either Buddhist or Hindhu. I asked my former Physical Education teacher, Gunawan, why the school did not temporarily hire a Buddhist and a Hindhu teachers to cater these students' need for that month, he told me that such decision was not financially efficient because this activitiy was held for one month only and the duration was also very short, fifteen minutes.

Although South School seemed to be more Islamic than North School, the activity of *Qur'an* reading every morning in Ramadan was absent because parents opposed this idea by considering that the Islamic messages had already disseminated through the teaching and learning activities and the dress code policy. In addition, the extracurricular of *Qur'an* reading which the majority of the students joined was perceived sufficient by the parents to sharpen students' religious knowledge.

With regard to the primary language used at the school, based on my interaction with teachers and observation of students both inside the class and outside the class, I found that the primary language used in this school is Indonesian. When teachers were involved in casual conversation during the recess, they selected Indonesian and only once in a while borrowed one or two Javanese words. Conversation between teachers outside the class was also always conducted in Indonesian. In the first week of my observation, whenever I spoke with teachers whose first language is Javanese, I always used Javanese *Krama* but they always responded in Indonesian. Even the Javanese language teacher, Darmawan, always chose Indonesian over Javanese when he talked to me. Because of that, I finally shifted to Indonesian completely because I felt awkward to speak Javanese when everyone responded in Indonesian. Among the students, Indonesian was also the

primary lingua franca even though it was also common for the to use Javanese *Ngoko Lugu*. Between teachers and students, communication was always carried out in Indonesian as well. In fact, I never came across any communicative events between teachers and students where students used Javanese *Krama* to their teachers.

Pedagogical practices inside the classroom. All classrooms in North School are smaller in size although the number of students in each class is slightly higher than that of South School. Because of that, classrooms seemed crowded and this situation was worsened by the absence of air conditioning or electric fan in each room while windows were always shut to minimize the distraction from the noise coming from outside. In addition to that, there were some standard features of a classroom that were absent here. For instance, there was no picture of the Indonesian President and Vice President as well as the national symbol, *Garuda* while the presence of the national flag could only be found in six classrooms

This situation reminds me of Arka's study (2013) indicating that in the regions where separatist movement is present such as Papua, the absence of such features may cause harsh consequences because the government will suspect that the school supports separatist movement. Especially for an Indigenous language teacher in that region, s/he must make sure the presence of these standard features when they teach the Indigenous language because the language itself is already perceived as a regional pride. When this is coupled with the absence of nationalism symbols, it will trigger suspicion from the authority even though no separatist ideas are disseminated in the class. From Arka's experience I argue that in Java the government considers this region a "safe" territory. Therefore, missing some attributes depicting national unity is arguably not a crucial issue.

I believe this topic is worth investigating by using safety zone theory coined by Lomawaima and McCarty (2006). Since it is not the focus of this dissertation, I will not further discuss here.

Implementation of LPP in the North School's Javanese language class. To find out how Javanese language was taught in North School, I observed two classes for each grade. I played the same role as I did in South School; that is, to act as a pure observer. I chose to sit at the back of the class in order to be able to observe the whole class. The same as what I found in South School, the students sat in pair and chose to sit next to a friend from the same gender althought the school did not instruct them to do so. The texbook used in North School was the same as the one used in South School, *Mutiyara Basa Jawa* or The Pearl of Javanese Language, a book prescribed by the Organization of Javanese Language Teacher or *MGMP Bahasa Jawa*.

Figure 27. A classroom in North School (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Another commonality between these two schools is the greeting practice in the beginning and the end of the meeting which is influenced by Islam. All students greeted *assalamu'alaikum* 'peace be upon you' to the teachers who responded accordingly *wa'alaikum salaam* 'and to you peace be unto you'. Morever, all students kissed the teachers' right hand when the class was dismissed. Just like their South counterparts, the students here would also kiss their teachers' hand when they ran into their teachers outside the class or meet with them in the teachers' office.

Despite these similarities, North School exhibits one strikingly different pedagogical practice. Unlike South School which used and obediently followed learning implementation plan or RPP, North School did not have RPPs as their teaching guidelines. I found out about the absence of RPP when, in the first week of my observation, I asked for the RPP documents to the two pre-service teachers. Both Nindya and Rahman did not know anything about them and suggested me request it from Darmawan who at that time was on sick leave. In a couple of weeks after that, I finally met with Darmawan in person and used the opportunity to request the RPP documents. Unfortunately, Darmawan could not locate where he kept the printed documents as well as the electronic copy. With no RPP documents at hand, I wondered how Darmawan trained Nindya and Rahman to master the teaching materials before letting them teach the class if both of them did not familiar with the content of the North School's RPP. I was also curious how Darmawan and the two pre-service teachers carried out the daily teaching and learning activities so that the materials they passed on were in line with the curriculum.

While the teachers in South School carefully crafted their RPP on the basis of ICARE framework and in accordance with the objectives of Javanese language teaching prescribed by the provincial government and the local authority of Tirta regency, Darmawan simply designed the RPP by following the teaching guidelines available in the textbooks. He argued that the textbook for each grade is developed by a team of authors who all are the members of MGMP . Therefore, the content is guaranteed to allign with the teaching objectives posited by the provincial government. He also indicated that the teaching objective presented by the local government of Arga regency has the same vein as that of the provincial government. Therefore, by simply following the guidelines in the textbook would suffice.

With this perspective, Darmawan instructed Nindya and Rahman at the beginning of their internship to follow the guidelines in the textbook; yet, they were free to use some additional supportive materials and activities. As a result, the foci of Javanese language teaching in this school are to master vocabulary and grammar through reading and writing, to learn Javanese alphabetic system, and to be familiar with Javanese literature, arts, and tradition. Furthermore, no religious messages were inserted in the class since all the teaching materials are purely aimed at completing the lessons in the textbook. Another consequence of such approach is that students have less opportunity to practice their speaking skills using Javanese *Krama* because there is no introductory phase at the beginning of each meeting where the teachers can use the time to ask students about their daily activity. This was the contrary to what happened in South School where the teachers took ten minutes to raise some questions relevant to students' routine to sharpen students' speaking skills.

The teaching arrangements are the followings: Nindya and Rahman were in charge for grade 7 and 8 respectively while Darmawan taught grade 9. According to Darmawan, curriculum for grade 9 contained materials for advanced level learners; thus, it needs a teacher who has enough teaching experience to disseminate the lesson. Nindya and Rahman were fully independent to teach and to evaluate the class; however, they were responsible to give weekly report to Darmawan.

During my observation, I found that spent a significant portion of the time to explain the lesson while students listened to the lecture. He did not apply an interactive method nor used any teaching aids but relied solely on the texbook. Moreover, he generally sat on his chair for the whole meeting.

> Darmawan sat on his chair and opened a reading passage in the textbook, *Mutiyara Basa Jawa 3*. He randomly chose students to read aloud the reading passage. He stopped them whenever they mispronounced a word and corrected it. After that, he invited all to read along with him that same text to practice their pronunciation. This activity took 15 minutes. Still sitting on his chair, he assigned his students to work in group to answer the reading comprehension questions on the textbook in 15 minutes. While students were doing the task, Darmawan waited for any questions from the students but nobody asked a question. The final part of the class (10 minutes) was to check the answer of each group which took turn to answer one question by reading aloud their paragraph. Darmawan simply gave brief comments such as "good" or "yes." Then, the class was dismissed.

(Classroom Observation-North School, September 3, 2012)

This observation note informs me that to some degree, the class was lack of communicative and meaning-making task as his target was to finish the lesson as prescribed in the textbook. For instance,before the reading activity started, he did not provide any lead-in activities to introduce the students to the topic of the reading text and to vocabulary students may not be familiar with.

Nindya had almost a similar teaching technique as Darmawan; that is, she mostly relied on lectures. The difference between Darmawan and Nindya was that Nindya used teaching aids and technologies such as powerpoint slides and pictures to make her presentation more interesting. Even though Nindya tried to make her class appealing, her students often did not pay attention to her. They often talked among themselves, checked their phones secretly, or made up some excuses to allow them to leave the class, such as asking permission to go to the restroom or telling Nindya they forgot to bring the textbook so Nindya would let them to go to the school library to borrow the textbook. When Nindya assigned them to work in groups, they used this opportunity to have a chit-chat about something other than the lesson. Ninda told me that she was aware of her students not focusing on the lesson. She assumed that it happened because students saw Nindya as a pre-service teacher who was in the school to learn to teach and did not have authority to determine their grade. Moreover, Nindya also believed that the students did not perceive Javanese an important subject because it is not tested in the national exam. As a result, students were less motivated to follow the lecture.

Rahman was the only instructor who not only used some teaching aids (pictures, puppet, traditional outfits) and technology (video, music, power point slides) but also incorporated interactive and participatory approaches in the class. For example, when the

class learned about performing arts, specifically Javanese shadow puppet, Rahman brought along with him five leather puppets used for shadow puppet shows and explained the name of each puppet as well as its role in Javanese classical epic story, *Mahabharata*. Afterwards, he acted as if he were a Javanese puppet master and showed the students how to play the puppets. For the class assignment, he asked his students to work in groups to prepare for a role-play using the puppets. They were assigned to perform in Javanese *Krama* a story which Rahman already prepared. While one group performed, other groups must give written feedback and gave the result of the evaluation to Rahman. This way motivated the students to perform well in order to impress their audience-judges. In another meeting, Rahman brought a DVD depicting a traditional Javanese ceremony which at that time was the topic of discussion in the textbook. With this interactive nature, grade 8 students became the most active ones compared to those of grade 7 and 9. It is worth noting that the school does not have these teaching aids, Therefore, Rahman must buy them by using his personal funding or borrow them from friends or the university where he studies.

Language of instruction for Javanese language subject is of course Javanese. However, the teachers in North School must adapt the policy based on their students level of proficiency which is lower than their counterparts in South School. For example, in grade 7 Nindya used two languages, Javanese and Indonesian, to explain the lesson because students in grade 7 often asked Nindya to repeat her explanation in Indonesian.

> *Kalau ada yang nanya "Bu ini apa? Maksudnya apa? Artinya apa?" nah itu saya jawab pakai bahasa Indonesia. Kadang kalau ada temennya yang tahu, biasanya mereka ngasih tahu "Ini lho disuruh kayak gini".*

> When a student asked me (in Indonesian), "Ma'am, what is this? What does it mean? What is the translation?" I would answer in Indonesian. Sometimes when his or her peers knew (the answer), they would help their friend "This is what we have to do."

During my observation, I found that this bilingual approach applied by Nindya was a common practice for her in all grade 7 classes. Sometimes Nindya could not hide her disbelief and commented:

> "*Kalian orang Jawa kok nggak bisa bahasa Jawa sih?"*
>
> You are Javanese but how come you don't understand Javanese?

After one month of observation, I found that language shift is in progress more rapidly here than in South School. There was one shocking moment which made me realize about this issue. I was sitting in the back of the class observing Nindya who gave her students in grade 7 a task to read a Javanese short story and to answers questions based on the short story. I could not believe that almost all of them who all were Javanese (except one Sundanese student) with strong Javanese accent when speaking Indonesian struggled to understand a short story written in *Ngoko Alus*. They kept asking Nindya to re-tell the story in Indonesian but this time she refused to do so. Then, some of them asked her permission to borrow a Javanese-Indonesian dictionary to find the meaning of the words they did not understand. I could not believe that these students needed to consult to a dictionary to understand a story written in their mother tongue. This finding corroborates Setiawan's study (2013) which reveals that seldom do the Javanese children read text written in Javanese. This means that Javanese no longer has a role in the literacy world of Javanese speakers.

Unlike Nindya, Rahman tried to be consistent to use Javanese in the class. However, he applied a lenient language policy in that he allowed the students to use Indonesian when they spoke to him while he replied in Javanese. He argued that this policy made the students more comfortable to follow the lesson and in fact motivate them to learn Javanese more. His argument is supported by my findings that in grade 8 students not only were they active but also not afraid to often take the chance to use Javanese in the class even though they knew that they may make mistakes. Thus, in grade 8, the students used mix Indonesian and Javanese while in grade 7 Indonesian was the primary choice for the students. In grade 9, Darmawan also applied the same strategy as Rahman; however, since the class rarely had an interactive discussion and activities which could display the students' speaking competence, the students had less chance to use their Javanese language. In fact, the majority of the students preferred Indonesian to Javanese when they had to speak to Darmawan inside and outside the class. It is important to note that these teachers switched to Indonesian completely to communicate with the students outside the class. Thus, Javanese is purely perceived as a subject to teach, not a medium of communication.

With regard to the lenient LPP in the class, Darmawan explained that nowadays students are less exposed to their native language. Therefore, to carry out conversation purely in Javanese will lead to communication failure. Because of that, it is wise to introduce Javanese little by little in the hope that the students will apply it at home. In addition, Javanese is taught only for two credit hours per week which is not sufficient to hone their skills. Therefore, home should be the primary domain for them to cultivate their fluency. Darmawan's opinion is supported by Nindya and Rahman who firmly

stated the maintenance must be started at home. However, they realized that maintaining Javanese is an arduous task because of sociolinguistic aspects (i.e. negative attitude toward Javanese as non-academic and less modern language) and lack of support from the government.

In conclusion, the role of teachers as LPP agents at the meso level in both schools is instrumental because the implementation of LPP in the classroom is strongly based on how they interpret the LPP even though both schools use the same textbooks. For example, in South School, because Tirta regency encourages the implementation of Islamic way in schools and the provincial government stipulates that Javanese language subject must contribute to foster ethics, moral, sprituality, and positive characters of the students, Suharti and Hastuti interpreted these messages as instructions to insert religious and morality lessons in their daily teaching activities. As a result, both teachers designed their RPP to achieve moral and religious objectives.

In contrast, North School entirely relied on the textbook which Darmawan perceived has already followed the guidelines from the provincial government. Thus, to design a tailor-made RPP is not necessary at all. Moral and religious messages can be disseminated when the teachers teach Javanese shadow puppet, tradition of communal work, and Javanese poetry. He added that when students learn Javanese speech levels, they learn not only about the difference beteween Javanese *Krama*, *Ngoko Alus*, and *Ngoko Lugu* but also how to use it appropriately to respect the interlocutors. It means that students at the same time learn about manner. Therefore, the notions ethics, morality, and spirituality do not have to be manifested intensively from the beginning until the end of the class. Besides, teachers must meet the target to finish a certain amount of the teaching

materials every semester as stipulated in the curriculum. Thus, to insert some additional messages like morality will take some portion of the teaching hour. In addition, the majority of the students had low Javanese . So, to incorporate those messages in more interactive and communicative activities might not work well due to their inadequate fluency. Darmawan agreed that these activities were actually helpful to enhance their competence; however, time limitation did not allow him to include these activities in the daily teaching. In other words, he is caught in a dilemmatic situation between following the prescribed curriculum and meeting the needs of their students. In the end, following the textbook in order to make sure the students could do well in the regular assigments and final semester exam wins.

Summary

In this chapter, I elaborated the local language policy (LPP) in Yogyakarta and the pedagocial practices in two middle schools in Yogyakarta to understand the place of Javanese language in formal education and to examine the agency roles of the teachers as a mediator to disseminate national and local LPP. In the province of Yogyakarta, Javanese language is appointed to be a mandatory local content subject based on the decree number 423.5/0912/2005. This decree is further supported by the decree 64/2013 to secure the position of Javanese language in elementary and secondary educations. Despite the official commitment to maintain Javanese through the medium of formal education, the time allocated to teach this language is limited−2 credit hours every week which is equal to 90 minutes per meeting. Because Javanese language subject carries so many tasks to execute, ranging from maintaining language-related-issues to morality, 90 minutes per week is definitely not enough time.

As a consequence of the limited time allocation and the hefty teaching content, teachers found it difficult to achieve the teaching target prescribed by the national and local government−namely to develop students' characters and sharpen their knowledge in Javanese. Suharti and Hastuti, the teachers of South School, emphasized their class on fostering morality and spririituality through communicative and interactive tasks while Darmawan, Nindya, and Rahman, the teachers of North School, focused on learning the language (i.e. grammar, vocabulary).

Another challenge faced by the teachers of South School, which is an inclusive institution is that they must be able to deliver the lesson to the hearing-students. However, they do not receive adequate training for that as the school only provides a one-day inclusive education training per year. Because both teachers could not communicate with their disabled students, they assigned their hearing students to become mentors of their disabled friends. This situation is of course problematic because the hearing students did not always do their task to help their peers.

In North School, the teachers experienced a different challenge. In this school, the majority of the students are no longer proficient in Javanese language. They even need a Javanese-Indonesian dictionnary to understand a Javanese reading text although most of the students come from Javanese families. Moreover, students paid the least attention in the class by considering that this language is not tested in the national exam.

Being a Javanese language teacher in this era is not for the faint of heart. It is challenging to teach this language as Javanese has been significantly losing its socioeconomic (and hence, ideological) values. The following statement from Zentz (2012) is worth for self-reflection:

> As educators and researchers, we assume a role in which we must continue to bring to students' awareness what they do and can do through language in the interest of providing students and policy makers alike with choices as to whether local languages continue their journey into the past or receive the same care that modern and modernized languages are given toward their growth among a contemporary global community of diverse local, national and global languages and cultures around the world. (p. 214)

In the following chapter, I will highlight the LPP at the macro level by elaborating the national LPP and its impacts to local languages in general and Javanese in particular.

CHAPTER 7

PEELING BACK THE EXTERNAL LAYER OF THE ONION: LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY AT THE MACRO LEVEL

Drawing on Himmelmann's statement (2010) which points out that language endangerment is not caused by few simple factors but it "results from the specific and complex constellation of a variety of such factors…an endangerment scenario" (p. 46), chapter 7 is dedicated to highlight the "complex costellations" leading to local language shift in general and Javanese language shift in particular. It is worth noting that unlike Himmelman (2010), I do not use the notion "endangerment" to describe what happened to Javanese because it is still spoken by millions of speakers. Nevertheless, Ravindranath & Cohn (2014) point out that even languages with millions of speakers are potentially endangered when intergenerational transmission is halted. Thus, I argue that Javanese is potentially endangered as a consequence of the macro level LPP and will soon be endangered if no real efforts are made to slow down the transition.

I also present the commitment for all Indonesians to embrace Indonesian language stipulated in the national LPP whose foundation is derived from a nationalist discourse of indigeneity framework highlighting a one nation-one language principle to make sure that every Indonesian maintains their loyalty to the unity of their nation (see theoretical framework section in chapter 2). To achieve this goal, the government consistently reminds its citizens that Indonesia exists because of tremendous sacrifice from our founding fathers who fought relentlessly to achieve the independence. The years of suffering to gain freedom and to unify all ethnic groups into one nation are used as a reminder that commitment to unity is paramount. With this mindset, the Indonesian LPP

is inevitably developed with bold nationalism messages which definitely bring impacts to the vitality of local languages since the emphasis is on ‘unity’ whilst ‘diversity’ is somehow neglected.

To peel back the most external level of LPP and its impacts to local languages in general and Javanese in particular, I will elaborate the national LPP development by dividing the discussion into two major parts−the pre-independence period and the independence period. Next, I will present the nationwide phenomenon of transitioning from local languages to Indonesian as a consequence of the national LPP implementation. The final section is devoted to provide analyses on Javanese language shift from the macro perspective to complement the findings I presented in chapter 4, 5, and 6 in order to get a holistic picture of Javanese language shift.

Language Planning and Policy in Pre-Independence Periods

This section will elaborate the development of language planning and policy (LPP) in Indonesia before the independence. This section provides arguments on why the global concept of indigeneity to examine the national LPP of Indonesia is not applicable. The dichotomous concept between majority versus minority is still present in the linguistic repertoire of Indonesia but it does not have to do with the Indigenous and Non-Indigenous division; instead, it is a polarity between national and local languages. I will divide the discussion in this section into into three, namely the Dutch occupation, the Japanese occupation, and the Dutch re-occupation.

The Dutch Occupation

Indonesian, originally the mother tongue of a small ethnic group in Sumatra island which makes up around five per cent of the current national population, is actually a

pidginized form of Malay known as Bazaar Malay, a member of the Austronesian family (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). The region where Malay is orginally from is situated in the vicinity of Malacca Straits, "an important early east-west trading route and center of commerce, and the location of pre-European political and maritime powers" becomes the primary reason of why Malay was widely spread throughout the archipelago (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 86). In addition to that, such intensive contact with the non-native speakers of Malay had contributed to the birth of Bazaar Malay, which simplified the linguistic rules to the advantage of non-native speakers or foreigners who learned it (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). As a result, compared to Javanese which had the largest native speakers but is complicated to master due to its rigorous rules of speech levels, Bazaar Malay was relatively easy to learn for the non native speakers (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In this dissertation, I used the term Malay to refer to Bazaar Malay unless I specified otherwise.

Based on the historical inscription of Chinese travellers in the seventh centuries, Alisjahbana (1976) indicated that the use of Malay as *lingua franca* had been prevalent long before the arrival of the European people in the archipelago. In the seventh century, Chinese travelers reported that people in South East Asian archipelago spoke a native language which these travelers called *Kw'enlun*, an old form of Malay (Alisjahbana, 1976). One of the most prominent Chinese travelers, Itsing, documented the instrumental role of *Kw'enlun* for scholarship purposes in this area especially in Sriwijaya kingdom, Sumatra island, a powerful kingdom existing between 7th to 13th century. In his journal, Itsing reported that scholars from China would come to Sriwijaya, which at that time was known as the center of knowledge, to study. Since the learning process was conducted in

Kw'enlun, the Chinese scholars must master the language to be able to follow the learning activity and translate the lessons or scholarship documents from *Kw'enlun* to Chinese (Alisjahbana, 1976). In addition to the Chinese travellers' chronicles, the existence of Malay as *lingua franca* was discovered in the ancient Malay-like inscriptions scatteredly found in several places in Sumatra island. Due to the fact that these incriptions originated from the era of the great kingdom of Sriwijaya, Malay was presumbly already the *lingua franca* and official language in that era (Alisjahbana, 1976).

The widespread use of Malay was also documented by the European who first arrived in the archipelago in the 14th century, a Portuguese named Magellan (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In 1521 Magellan who anchored his ship in the east part of the archipelago, Tidore, Maluku island, reported the significant role of Malay among people in this region although the language was originated from the west part of Indonesia. When the princess of Maluku communicated with the King of Portugal, she also used Malay instead of the native language of Maluku (Alisjahbana, 1976). Drewes (1948, cited in Alisjahbana, 1976) added that at the same time when St. Francis Xavier disseminated Christianity in Maluku, he wrote all explanations about Christianity in Malay and used this language to attract as many Indigenous people as possible to embrace the new faith and left behind the old ones, which were mostly ancestral faiths and Islam. According to St. Francis Xavier, Malay was the language which everyone understood; therefore, it was an effective medium to spread the words about Christianity (Drewes, 1948 cited in Alisjahbana, 1976).

Around sixty years after the arrival of Magellan, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch navigator, claimed that the role of Malay was so influential that it was equivalent

to the role of French in Europe (Alisjahbana, 1976). In a similar vein as the Christian missionaries in the east part of Indonesia, Muslim scholars also utilized Malay to spread Islam in the west part of Indonesia. According to Alisjahbana (1976) who cited Voorhoeve (1955), Raniri, an Indian Muslim scholar, when first came to Aceh in Sumatra island had already been so proficient in Malay that he used the language to teach Islam.

During the period of Dutch colonization, from 1600 to 1942 with the exception of a brief termination between 1811 and 1816 during the Napoleonic Wars when the Dutch power was taken over by the British, Malay maintained its important role throughout the period of colonization (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). At the initial period of occupation, the colonial government which was represented by the Dutch East India Company aimed at using Dutch as the official language; however, they soon realized that the already strong position of Malay as *lingua franca* would be the greatest obstacle to force their language plan (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Therefore, the Dutch decided to use Malay to disseminate the colonial power but it is worth noting that at first the Dutch supported High Malay, a variety commonly used for literature and classical text, for the colonial administrative purposes and documentation, not Bazaar Malay.

Likewise, the Christian Dutch missionaries spread their faith in the west part of the archipelago by translating the Bible using High Malay which resulted to low number of people converted to the new religion; unlike the Portuguese which was successful to spread Christianity in the east part of Indonesia by using Bazaar Malay for missionary works (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Realizing that it was the Bazaar Malay with which people were familiar, the Dutch finally inclined to this variety to strengthen their control in the archipelago (Lowenberg, 1994). The Dutch also had a

policy which indirectly contribute to the spread of Malay throughout the archipelago (Lowenberg, 1994). To work in their plantation (i.e. rubber, sugar, spices), the Dutch did not allow the migrant labors from the neighboring countries, such as India or China; and preferred to employ local labors. Labors coming from various regions of the archipelago did not have a choice but to communicate in Malay to connect with each other.

Due to the influence of European liberalism movement advocating better quality of life for the Indigenous people in the colonial regions in the late nineteenth century, the colonial government was forced to establish schools for the Indigenous people to provide better education (Moeliono, 1986). Prior to 1848, the schools was intended only for Dutch, Christian, and military children; however the new policy stipulated the provision of primary schools for the Indonesians regardless of their background (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). The schools were made available in all districts in Java and some districts in other big islands whereas most areas in small islands did not get this privilege until the twentieth century mainly because the Dutch colonial government had not yet consolidated their control there (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). To support their plan to improve education in Indonesia, the colonial government established three teachers' training colleges in Java and five in other islands in 1875. Java island was prioritized because this was the center of the colonial government. The colonial government also opened schools for girls in the early 1900s to give opportunities for girls in education specifically girls who came from upper class families. Before the opening of schools for girls, it was only male who received education.

The schools for the Indigenous people were divided into two, one for those who came from higher social class and the other one for the lower social class, known as

Sekolah Rakyat or People's Schools (Alisjahbana, 1976). The school for the affluent Indigenous people took seven years to finish whereas the People's Schools needed shorter time, five years but later it was changed to six years (Alisjahbana, 1976). In both schools, the languages of instruction were the mother tongue of the pupils; however, the upper class schools also taught Dutch to their students. It is important to note that the language of instruction used at the primary schools were not only Malay but also the local languages of the regions; therefore, the mother tongues of the pupils was also instrumental in the teaching and learning (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

In 1914, the schools for the affluent children must use Dutch as the medium of instruction and the name of the school was changed to the Dutch Native School while the People's Schools remained to use Malay and the mother tongue as the medium of instruction but Dutch was also included as a mandatory subject from third to six grades (Alisjahbana, 1976); Moeliono, 1986). The policy to foster Dutch was advocated by an archivist for Indonesia, Jacob Anne van der Chijs and J. H. Abendanon, the Director of the Department of Education during the late 1890s and early 1900s on the ground that knowledge of Dutch would accelerate the absorption of Western culture by the Indigenous People (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

To successfully execute van der Chijs and Abendanon's idea, the colonial government established secondary and higher education so that students who passed the elementary education could continue to the next level of education (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). All higher institutions were established only in Java island whereas the secondary schools were available in Java and other islands (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Before van der Chijs and Abendanon proposed this

effort, the students of the Dutch Native Schools must go to the European schools to pursue secondary and tertiary education. It was challenging for them because they had to compete with the Dutch students who were already familiar with the system of education, language, and culture (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). As a result, many prospective students could not meet the passing grade to enter the European schools (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Furthermore, the opportunity to continue education was not available for the alumni of People's Schools because of poor knowledge of Dutch language and culture (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Therefore, the provision of secondary and tertiary levels of education would enable the Indigenous people in general to achieve better education (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). This effort was also supported by *Boedi Oetomo*, an influential Indigenous political organization, which demanded the colonial government to adjust the standards for admission to the European schools and to set up secondary schools for the Indonesian children only (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

The linguistic impact of opening wider educational opportunity was that Dutch became an instrumental language for the Indonesians because it enabled them to get better education and in return, they would get better jobs (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In short, Dutch was synonimous with success, modernity, and intellectuality. Furthermore, the positive attitude towards Dutch had increased the demand to learn it for those who failed to be admitted to the Dutch Native School (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In response to this, the colonial government opened Dutch language courses which were organized by General Dutch Association (Alisjahbana, 1976). A group of the Dutch educational experts, especially Dr.

J. Nieuwenhuis, also made significant contribution to the promotion of Dutch in Indonesia and their influence were still strong until 1930 (Alisjahbana, 1976). Nieuwenhuis declared the intention to make Dutch "a unifying force in Indonesia" (p. 38) because Dutch is the only medium to preserve the legacy of the mother country in the colony (Alisjahbana, 1976).

> "If we want to promote Indonesian unity, let us begin with the highest social classes, with the elite; and then as the British did in India and the French in Annam, we must institute a language which can represent international culture fully as the general medium for social intercourse. In Indonesia this language will have to be Dutch." (Nieuwenhuis, 1925, p. 12, cited in Alisjahbana, 1976)

I do not neglect the fact that the colonial government made effort to promote the use of Malay, for example by opening a publishing house in 1908 *Balai Pustaka* which aimed at publishing literary and science works in Malay, letting private enterprises publish newspapers in Malay (Alisjahbana, 1976), and using Malay as the medium of instruction in People's Schools. However, the effort to foster Dutch was stronger than the advocacy to disseminate Malay. As a result, Dutch became the most valuable language in the society.

Rapid spread of Dutch later on was perceived unfavorable both by the Dutch and the Indonesians (Aisjahbana, 1976). For the colonial government, the significant rise of the Indonesians who were well educated and could speak Dutch fluently was a threat for the economic and political stability (Alisjahbana, 1976). Although the number of the Indonesian who received good education was small due to the limited availability of schools, they all could not be absorbed by the job market because of lack of job

opportunities; as a consequence, this would lead to harsh job competition among the educated Indonesian (Alisjahbana, 1976). Moreover, the increase number of young generation who received higher education was perceived equivalence to the rise of political awareness among young people (Alisjahbana, 1976). The colonial government found this alarming for this would hamper the stability of the colonial hegemony in Indonesia. It was not only the colonial government that viewed the mastery of Dutch as a threat but also the Indonesian activists for the reason that the language might prevent them to build close rapport with and to spread the idea of independence to the majority of people who were unfamiliar with Dutch (Alisjahbana, 1976). Therefore, the Indonesian activists whom the majority of them were Dutch educated started the advocacy to use Malay for the purpose of acquiring national independence.

The Second Congress of Indonesian Youth on 28 October 1928 in Jakarta became the cornerstone for the acceptance of Malay as the unifying language for the nation to achieve the independence. In this congress, the Indonesian Youth took an oath to declare that they acknowledged one nation, the Indonesian nation, one mother-country, Indonesia, and one language, the Indonesian language (see section Nationalist Discourse of Indigeneity in Chapter 2). In the First Congress of Indonesian Youth held in Jakarta in 1926, Dutch was still the primary language of communication, for instance Muhammad Yamin, one of the most prominent Indonesian young activists, still delivered his speech about the future possibilities of Malay language and literature in Dutch (Alisjahbana, 1976). But two years later, the situation changed dramatically as Malay was used as the primary means of communication in the congress although the speakers' fluency of this language was not satisfying (Alisjahbana, 1976).

Nevertheless, there were speakers who opted to use Dutch, for example Poernomowoelan (Foulcher, 2000). Upon finishing her talk, participants whom the majority were Dutch-educated were asked whether they wanted her speech to be translated in Malay and the response was a strong yes (Foulcher, 2000). To address the participants' request, Muhammad Yamin who was the Congress secretary fulfilled the duty by stepping forward to deliver Poernomowoelan's speech in Malay (Foulcher, 2000). The congress also resulted in the birth of one standard practice, to apologize for the use of Dutch (Foulcher, 2000). According to Foulcher (2000) who cited Fadjar Asia magazine issued in 1928, one contributor initiated this practice because of his choice to use Dutch to address the Congress instead of Malay. Before that day, nobody would bother to apologize and express their regret for the use of Dutch; however, after that day it was a standard practive for everybody to apologize for not using Malay but Dutch when delivering their speech. Yet, for the daily communication the activists still turned to Dutch or their mother tongue (Moeliono, 1986) but their preference not to use Indonesian for daily communication did not make them less committed to Indonesian (Foucher, 2000). In fact, their endorsement for Indonesian as the unifying language meant they were committed to alienate themselves from the colonial language in public realm whilst in private domains they could use any language with which they felt more comfortable (Foulcher, 2000).

Another important aspect of the Second Congress of Indonesian Youth was that it changed the name from Malay to Indonesian. This change was of significant to Indonesians because it had strong political motive and nationalistic connotation to highlight the zeal for independence (Anwar, 1980). According to Anwar, to use the word

‘Indonesia’ was a bold expression of rebellion against the colonial power which only allowed the official use in Dutch word, *Indonesier*, and later on *Indonesisch*, but strictly prohibited the Malay translation, *Indonesia*. The word ‘Indonesia’ was even spread to Indonesian activists who were studying in the Netherlands (Anwar, 1980). The Chairman of Indonesian Association in the Netherlands at that time, Muhammad Hatta who after the independence became the first Vice President of Indonesia, declared that “the name of Indonesia for us is a sacred symbol of a country which in the future will be free. It is to achieve this ideal that today we are struggling against Dutch imperialism and sacrificing our personal interests” (Anwar, 1980, p. 16). As a reaction of this movement, the colonial government stipulated a policy to remove Malay (Indonesian) as a regular subject from all schools in Java in 1930 and throughout Indonesia in 1932 even though not long ago the colonial government was keen on fostering Malay to discourage the Indonesians from learning Dutch (Moeliono, 1993). Indeed, when the meaning of Malay is equivalent with the idea of independence, Malay became a threat to the imperialism existence; therefore the colonial government stopped their support to promote Malay.

To reject the promotion of Malay as the superior language in Indonesia, besides re-encouraging the use of Dutch, in 1930s the colonial government followed C. C. Berg’s idea to propose Javanese as the national language on the basis that: (1) the Javanese was the largest ethnic group which means that Javanese language had the highest number of speakers, (2) Javanese was the most sociopolitically dominant and made up a significant number of the educated elite compared to other Indigenous groups, (3) Javanese was a written language, owned its own ortographic system, and had a long tradition of literature (Alisjahbana, 1962). However, the Indonesian educated elites who opposed Berg argued

that from the linguistic perspective, Javanese was not an ideal choice on the ground that it required rigid rules of social registers with separate lexicons used depending on the age (young versus old), distance (close or distant relationship), and power (social class) of the person addressed**,** which makes it challenging for the non native speakers of Javanese to learn (Alisjahbana, 1962, Anwar, 1980; Moeliono, 1994). The strong sociopolitical position of the Javanese was also another consideration to not opt it as the national language (Anwar, 1980; Moeliono, 1994; Wright, 2004).

With their dominant position, the Javanese presumably would be able to persuade other ethnic groups to accept Javanese as the national language (Anwar, 1980); however, this intention was prone to causing resentment because other ethnic groups would feel being hegemonized by the most dominant ethnic group (Moeliono, 1994; Wright, 2004). I suggest that the positive attitude of Dutch toward Javanese language (and Javanese ethnic group) was to receive endorsement from the most dominant ethnic group which later on would perpetuate their colonial hegemony. The Indonesian political and cultural leaders were aware of the potential conflict if Javanese was chosen as the national language; therefore, they avoided this option. “It has often been said (mainly by the Javanese of a later day) that the adoption of Indonesian as the national language was a magnanimous concession on the part of the Javanese near majority” (Anderson, 2006, p. 139).

Women also contributed to the promotion of Indonesian as the national language. In the First Congress of Indonesian Women in Yogyakarta on 22 December 1928, there were more than 1000 participants attending the congress and fifteen speakers representing various women organizations (Maharani, 2014). In this congress, all speakers made strong efforts to use Malay as an expression of commitment to the Youth Pledge declared

in 28 October 1928 (Maharani, 2014). For instance, one of the speakers, Raden Ayoe Sitti Soendari, a member of the Javanese royal family and a teacher at a Teacher's College named Kweek School in Surakarta, Central Java, delivered her speech in Malay about the importance of the unifying language for Indonesia (Maharani, 2014). The fact that she usually spoke Javanese and Dutch was clearly seen during her speech as she often struggled to pronunce some words (Maharani, 2014). Being aware of her poor fluency in Malay, in preparation for her speech Soendari requested assistance from a translator (Foulcher, 2000). In fact, in the Second Congress of Indonesian Youth held on 28 October 1928, Soendari still gave speech in Dutch while admitting that she did not understand Malay (Foulcher, 2000). It was remarkable that two months after the Youth Congress, she was brave enough to force herself to speak before a large number of audience in a language to which she claimed was alien. Soendari's efforts to use Malay throughout the congress symbolized the commitment to place Malay in a more superior position than "the language of her birthplace", Javanese, and "the language of her intellectual world," Dutch (Foulcher, 2000, p. 382).

The positive attitude toward Indonesian from the activists had resulted to the publication of *Pudjangga Baru*, a magazine aimed at promoting Indonesian language and literature by prominent writers in that era such as Amir Hamzah, Armijn Pane, and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana in 1933 (Alisjahbana, 1976; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). These writers also initiated the First Indonesian Language Congress held in Surakarta, Central Java, in 1938 which successfully passed resolutions to make Indonesian the language of the law and formal domains, "to create an institute and a faculty for the study Indonesian, to decide on technical terminology, to create a new ortography, and to codify a new

grammar in accordance with the changes taking place in the structure of the language" (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 41). Even though these resolutions remained to be statements without any real action, they marked the start of language planning and policy later on after the colonial period ended.

From the elaboration above, I argue that the meaning of Malay as the *lingua franca* in the archipelago does not mean that everyone spoke it and those who could speak Malay did not necessarily have the same level of competence. Prior to colonial period, Malay was an important language in Sriwijaya, an influential kingdom in Asia at the time. Therefore, people who went to Sriwijaya for educational or commercial purposes would learn Malay. Apart from that, the location of Sriwijaya which was in the vicinity of the busiest port connecting ships from Old World to the New World on Melacca strait also made contribution to the dissemination of Malay throughout the archipelago. Traders, sailors, and visitors would speak Malay, specifically the simplified version of Malay or Bazaar Malay (the future of Indonesian), to fulfill the communicative needs. Thus, I argue that only people who often travelled would come in contact with Malay while those who did not have the opportunity to travel or not to live close to the harbors or the port of entry for the foreigners, only knew their mother tongue. Therefore, the local languages were still well maintained.

During the period of Dutch imperialism, Malay was indeed an important language but not everyone had the opportunity to receive education in order to learn Malay. It was only those who came from the elite groups (*Priyayi*) and financially better situated families of merchant or farmer, specifically male, who had a chance to go to school. In addition to that, the number of school was also limited. The finding from my fiedwork

corroborates my claims. The majority of the elderly people in Gemah and Ripah villages were illiterate especially the female ones. Furthermore, they admitted that in the past they did not know Malay at all because they did not receive formal education. They finally could speak it simply because later on when it becomes Indonesian everybody speaks it. The Indonesian Youth Congress and the Indonesian Women Congress also provide evidence that Malay was indeed a *lingua franca* but the level of proficiency of its learners simply passable if not poor. This elabroation tells us that in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, the local languages in Indonesia were still widely spoken and well maintained.

The Japanese Occupation

The Japanese occupation in Indonesia began in March 1942, after they defeated the Dutch, and ended in August 1945, as World War II came to an end. Even though their occupation had lasted for only 3.5 years, it left tremendous trauma in the life of the Indonesians (Anwar, 1980). At the advent of their occupation, the Japanese spread propaganda in Indonesian language emphasizing that they came to help free their "colored" fellow Asians from the White imperialist, the Dutch, who had occupied Indonesia for three and a half centuries (Anwar, 1980). This propaganda was so believable that people greatly welcomed the Japanese troops and hailed them as saviors:

> So it was not surprising that a great many simple-minded Indonesians welcomed the Japanese as their liberators, praised them for their courage and determination, and shouted *banzai*, the Japanese battle cry, at them. I know a poor villager in a village in West Sumatra, an ox-cart driver, who, in order to commemorate the

coming of the Japanese, christened his newly born son Si Nipun[8]. (Anwar, 1980, p. 33)

Unlike people in general who were ecstatic at the promise of liberation, the Indonesian elites knew well that the Japanese had the same agenda as the Dutch, to occupy their homeland. Being highly educated in Dutch made them so knowledgeable about democracy and other types of ideology presented in Western textbooks that they were fully aware about the Japanese being facist (Anwar, 1980). In spite of their opposition toward the Japanese occupation, the educated elite and the Indonesian leaders (i.e. Sukarno, Muhammad Hatta, Ki Hadjar Dewantara) chose to cooperate with the Japanese for the greater good (Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Sjahrir, 1948). Sukarno who became the first president of Indonesia after the independence, stated that making an impression as if they agreed to collaborate with the Japanese would be the best method to face the facist regime (Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Sjahrir, 1948). By doing so, not only did they gain trust from the Japanese but also kept the idea of nationalism through underground movements alive (Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Sjahrir, 1948).

One of the first actions carried out by the Japanese was to completely expel Dutch in all aspects and to replace it with Japanese by instructing all schools and departments to mandatorily teach Japanese to all students (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). The Japanese pursued the same policy implemented in Korea and Taiwan, which was to Japanize the colonial land, by imposing Japanese language and culture on Indonesian people. Nevertheless, the Japanese realized that to rapidly disseminate their language to the

[8] *Nipun* refers to *Nippon* (Japan).

Indonesians during the World War II would be impossible (Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). As a consequence, they had no choice but to use Indonesian as the most practical means for the purpose of official correspondence between government and departments, communication between the government and the people, and medium of instruction at elementary to higher educations (Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In addition to this, to mobilise the masses, spread information, propaganda, and indoctrination, the Japanese selected Indonesian to be the language in the posters, newspapers' articles, and radio broadcasts (Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Thus, in this period Indonesian had a new function to disseminate anti-Western and pro-Japanese propaganda, a role which had never been played by this language before (Anwarm 1980). For example (Anwar, 1980, p. 46): "*Hancurkanlah musuh kita, itulah Inggeris Amerika*" 'Destroy our enemy, the British and the American', "*Nippon saudara tua kita*" 'Nippon is our elder brother', "*Nippon pelindung Asia*" 'Nippon the protector of Asia'.

The opportunity to foster Indonesian was expanded by the decision of the Japanese to go to even the most remote places of Indonesia, especially in major islands, to recruit as many people as possible for the Greater East Asian War by using Indonesian language to disseminate the message (Alisjahbana, 1976). The stronger existence of Indonesian was positively welcome by the Indonesians and the postition of this language as a symbol of unity and solidarity became even more solidified. The growth of Indonesian was so rapid that the Japanese could not stop it and as a consequence, they agreed to provide an avenue for the Indonesians to develop their language.

On 20 October 1942, the Japanese established the *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia* or Indonesian Language Commission, chaired by Mr. Mori, Mr. Ichiki, and Mr. Kagami, three Japanese officials, to develop grammar, vocabulary, and terminology (Anwar, 1980). Mr. Soewandi, an Indonesian who later after the independence became the Minister of Education and Culture, was appointed as the secretary while Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, a prominent linguist and writer, was elected as an expert secretary and some important Indonesian figures such as Mohammad Hatta, Sukarno, Poerbatjaraka, Husein Djajadiningrat, Haji Agus Salim became the members (Anwar, 1980). One year after its establishment, the Indonesian Language Commission assigned Alisjahbana to lead the Language Office, an institution which would carry the work of the Language Commission (Anwar, 1980). By the end of Japanese occupation, the Language Office had cultivated 7,000 new terms (Alisjahbana, 1976).

The Language Office indeed made exemplary contribution to the development of Indonesian. It is important to note, however, that they often faced difficulties due to the Japanese's growing suspicion of the nationalist movement hidden behind language development works especially when Alisjahbana and his colleagues requested the Japanese to formally acknowledge the name *Bahasa Indonesia* as the official name of Indonesian and due to the Japanese's subtle opposition toward rapid promotion of Indonesian through the medium of schools (Anwar, 1980). The Japanese knew that the name *Bahasa Indonesia* entailed strong meaning of nationalism and the idea of independence; therefore, they opted to keep putting off the response to the request (Anwar, 1980). Furthermore, the works of the Language office such as vocabulary and terminology development was not promptly disseminated to schools for fear of the spread

of Indonesian would significantly hamper the teaching of Japanese language and in the future would make it difficult to familiarize Japanese for the Indonesian at large. However, over time the Japanese members of the Language Comission were no longer interested in the Comission's work and the Indonesian committee members took advantage of this situation to freely develop the language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). I argue that the Japanese members were not literally disinterested in the Commission's works as they were fully aware of the Indonesian's role as the unifying symbol for the Indonesians. I believe that their weaker control over the Language Comission was caused by their strong focus on the World War II to fight against the Western Allies.

The Indonesian members used this opportunity to maximally promote Indonesian as the national language. They worked collaboratively with the provincial offices of education, which was responsible to supervise all schools in their respective areas, to eliminate all Dutch words from the textbooks and replaced them with the equivalent Indonesian words (Anwar, 1980). Even proper names like Holland must be Indonesized, for example: Holland became *Belanda* (Anwar, 1980). The goal to eliminate all Dutch influences was smoothly achieved mainly because of the support from both teachers and students. (Anwar, 1980) The act of linguistic purification was also spread beyond the education domain, for instance newspapers contributed to create new words to replace the Dutch ones and circulated them via their publication (Anwar, 1980). This phenomenon had led the Indonesian elites who still spoke Dutch in private domains to shift to Indonesian when speaking in public domains to avoid being accused of inclining to the former colonizer (Anwar, 1980). The attitude to use Indonesian in public realm was actually not new because after the Youth Pledge the Indonesian activists were commited

to promote the language in public domains. However, the punishment they would receive for using Dutch in public domains during the Japanese occupation would be severe by considering two factors: first, the Japanese ruled Indonesia with iron fists; second, the Dutch became both the enemy of the Indonesian and the Japanese.

Realizing that their position in World War II was in jeopardy, the Japanese decided to support the Independence of Indonesia in the hope that the newly formed country would become a sovereign nation under the Japanese empire. On 29 April 1945, the Japanese officially set up the Investigating Committee for the Indonesian Independence which successfully developed Jakarta Charter, a basis for the future of Indonesia's philosophical foundation *Pancasila* and the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* 'Unity in Diversity' (Anwar, 1980; Arka, 2013; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Moreover, the works of this Committee became the foundation for the Constitution of 1945, which in Article 36 declares Indonesian as the state language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

The pursuit of the declaration of national independence became stronger after the atomic bombs were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During the time when Sukarno and Hatta composed the text of proclamation, the Japanese tried to negotiate that the declaration of independence as merely a marker of the administration transfer; however, knowing exactly that the Japanese was not in a strong position for negotiation, Sukarno and Hatta refused and stated clearly that the declaration meant the transfer of power (Anwar, 1980). On 17 August 1945, on behalf of the people of Indonesia, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. Sukarno read aloud to crowd the text of the proclamation which he and Mohammad Hatta composed in Indonesian language.

To conclude, during the period of Japanese occupation until the day of the independence declaration, language policy and planning became a real action not just simply statements on paper. Moreover, Indonesian "suddenly began to grow at a tremendous pace [....] a forced growth, designed to enable it to exercise the functions of a mature modern language in the shortest possible time" (Alisjahbana, 1974, p.400). Lastly, Indonesian once again proved its significant role as the language of nationalism. Despite the robust growth of Indonesian, I argued that the level of Indonesian proficiency was still questionnable by considering that the language development was still in progres. Thus, people who had access to literacy (i.e. education, newspaper subscription) and communication facilities (i.e. radio) would be more proficient while those who did not have these privileges would simply understand Indonesian but not necessarily master it. Because of these reasons, I argue that for daily communication most Indonesians would use their mother tongues. My statement is corroborated by Rubin (1977) who stated that even until 1970s the majority of Indonesian did not have Indonesian as the mother tongue. She further claimed that this situation became the primary drawback for the development of Indonesian. Therefore, during the Japanese occupation the position of local languages was still significant for the nation's linguistic repertoires.

The Dutch Re-occupation

Although Indonesia had proclaimed its independence on 17 August 1945, the country did not at once receive international recognition primarily because of the Dutch's claim to the international world that after the Western allies defeated the Japanese, Indonesia as the former territory of the Ducth must be returned to its former ruler. On the basis of that argument, on 15 September 1945 the Dutch came back to Indonesia to

reclaim its former colonies. This had resulted to some regions to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia as they were more inclined to the Dutch and to transform into Dutch-sponsored local states.

For a period of four years the fight between the Indonesian nationalists and the Dutch had been ongoing. Finally on 27 December 1949 the Dutch-Indonesian Round Table conference held in The Hague, Netherlands, ended the conflict by reaching a decision that the Dutch would transfer complete sovereignty over Indonesia to Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). The Conference had also resulted in the creation of RUSI consisting of seven states (namely Republic of Indonesia, Pasundan, East Indonesia, East Java, Madura, East Sumatra, and South Sumatra) and nine autonomous regions (Central Java, West Kalimantan, Dayak, Banjar, South East Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, Bangka, Belitung, and Riau). After the departure of Dutch, RUSI was disestablished on 17 August 1950 and all the states as well as the autonomous regions were dissolved into one, the Republic of Indonesia. Since the focus of this dissertation is LPP, the details about the background how RUSI was founded, its impacts to Indonesian political system, and how it finally dissolved, are not be further discussed.

From the sociolinguistic perspective, the period of the Dutch re-occupation somewhat affected the linguistic repertoire of the nation. At the advent of the re-occupation, the Dutch aimed at annihilating Japanese and replacing it with Dutch. At the same time the Dutch were aware of the already strong position of Indonesian language in all aspects of life. Thus, they chose to compromise by not eliminating the language but instead proclaiming Indonesian as the second official language (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003). In the Dutch-sponsored states, Dutch reclaimed its position as the most superior

language and became the medium of instruction in schools. After the Dutch re-occupation ended, the Indonesian government implemented the use of Indonesian for all educational, cultural, and political purposes and took over all the Dutch medium schools by 1952 (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). It is easier for the Indonesians to erase Dutch than the Indians to eliminate English because Dutch does not have strong reputation in the global linguistic repertoire as opposed to English after World War II (Dardjowidjojo, 1998). Because of that, the efforts to dispel Dutch from Indonesia did not seem to face any serious challenges.

There are two important events during the period of Dutch re-occupation which made sociolinguistic impacts, namely the spelling reform and the Struggle Slogan. With regard to the spelling reform, Suwandi, the Minister of Education and Culture, proposed the new spelling system to simplify the one devised by a prominent Dutch linguist Van Ophuysen which had been used since 1896 (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Based on Suwandi's spelling system, the vowel [u] which in the old system was spelled 'oe' became 'u', glottal stop which was written as apostrophe became 'k', repeated word could be written using numeral '2', for example *anak-anak* 'children' can be written as *anak2*, and the spelling rules for preposition (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Although this spelling reform seems an insignificant issue to bring up during the period of struggle for independence, in my opinion this is an avenue to further alienate all aspects of Indonesian language from Dutch. I argue that Suwandi's spelling reform aimed not only at simplifying the spelling but more importantly expressing the Indonesian identity.

The second event occured during this period was the Youth Congress which had a similar objective as the one carried out in 1928. That is, the congress held in Yogyakarta

in 1949 contributed to strengthen even more the role of Indonesian as the unifying language. The congress was to seek the unity among all the youth in Indonesia as a response to the on-going conflicts between the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch which had divided Indonesia into two groups−the Republican activist, a group who was loyal to the independence of Indonesia and the Dutch-sponsored states' supporters (Foulcher, 2000). Unlike the Youth Congress in 1928 which hosted participants who were the Dutch-speaking young generation from high-ranking families, the 1949 Congress was attended by youth from two opposing groups, the Republic and the Dutch-controlled states, and this triggered some tension during the Congress (Foulcher, 2000).

Since the idea of the congress was to unite the Indonesian youth who were politically divided as a result of the re-occupation, the youth who supported the Republic (known as the radical youth) used this chance to express their opinion freely for the fact that the idea of unity alligned with the ideology of the Republic (Foulcher, 2000). In contrast, the representatives from the federal states were more reluctant and cautious in their contribution to the discussions (Foulcher, 2000). In the end, the Congress reached a concensus to support a declaration named *Sembojan Perdjuangan* 'Struggle Slogan':

Satu Bangsa—Bangsa Indonesia

Satu bahasa—Bahasa Indonesia

Satu Tanah Air—Tanah Air Indonesia

Satu Negara—Negara Indonesia

One Nation-Indonesian nation

One language-Indonesian language

One Homeland-Indonesian homeland

One state-The Indonesian state (Foulcher, 2000, p. 385)

This declaration is a reminiscence of the Youth Pledge's spirit; that is to unite the nation.

> "The exigencies of the moment, the struggle for a unitary independent state, have produced the additional "Satu negara" to the echoes of Yamin's 1928 congress resolutions. [.....] the first three components of the "Struggle Slogan" now embody the symmetrical unity of "one nation, one language and one homeland"."
> (Foulcher, 2000, p. 385)

Language Planning and Policy in Independence Periods

In the next discussion, I will examine the development of LPP in the post colonial periods. On the basis of Kaplan and Baldauf's division (2003), I discuss these periods into three, (1) Old Order (1950-1966), (2) New Order (1966-1998), and (3) Reformation (1998-now). For the Indonesians, the period of Old Order is also known as the Liberal Democracy and Guided Democracy period led by the First President of Indonesia, Sukarno. These periods are of politically significant; however, they do not bring important changes in the Indonesian LPP because since the early days of independence until the Reformation, the basis of the planning has always been to strengthen Indonesian as a symbol of unity (Arka, 2013; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

The Old Order

Sukarno's presidency from 1950 through 1966 had left three important LPP markers, specifically in 1952, 1954, and 1959. In 1952 there were three important events. The first was that after the Dutch re-occupation, all Dutch-medium schools were no longer allowed and they must replace Dutch with Indonesian as their medium of instruction. The second was the publication of three language journals in 1952, namely

Pembina Bahasa Indonesia (Builder of Indonesian), *Medan Bahasa* (Language Arena), and *Bahasa dan Budaja* (Language and Culture) which published articles on the development of Indonesian and the problems faced in relation to its usage in higher education, media, and other fields (Anwar, 1980). Language Commission, established since the Japanese occupation and has been actively developping new terms as well as determining the Indonesian language planning ever since, was in charge in publishing these three journals.

The last, the Minister of Education and Culture issued a special regulation with regard to the function and tasks of the language section at the Ministry of Education and Culture (Anwar, 1980, p. 80):

> I. FUNCTION: To foster and develop Indonesian language and literature, including local languages and literatures.
>
> II. TASK: In order to realize that function, it is assigned the following tasks:
>
> a. To keep an eye on, to investigate, and to study Indonesian as a language of unity as well as the local languages, both the oral and the written languages.
>
> b. To bring about closer relationship between Indonesian and the local languages in relation with their rules and lexical items.
>
> c. To foster the development of national literatures both in Indonesian and in the local languages.

Again, the main emphasis here is Indonesian as the unifying language. One of important points in this regulation is "to study" Indonesian. The reason to make sure the Indonesian people studied their language was that the number of fluent speakers of Indonesians was still fairly low (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Rubin, 1977). Moreover, "the more the

Indonesians learned to express themselves in Indonesian, the more conscious they became of the ties which linked them" (Alisjahbana, 1962, p. 29).

Another important aspect is that it is the first official regulation acknowledging the importance of the local languages and is indeed an important marker in the history of LPP in Indonesia for the maintenance of local languages although they were then spoken by a significant number of people. I argue that the government finally took into account the local languages because the euphoria to banish Dutch through the use of Indonesian as the uniting force was over. On the one hand, the government still perceived that maintaining the unity through Indonesian was crucial; on the other hand, they wanted to acknowldege the diversity of the nation. Because of that, recognition to the existence of the local languages is an avenue to realize the unity in diversity. The supporters of local language maintenance were elated in response to the policy; however only the promoters of big languages namely Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese positively reacted to the policy by expressing their willingness to take real steps to maintain their native languages (Anwar, 1980, p. 80). However, there was no literature recorded the response from other local languages' promotors (Anwar, 1980).

Another important event in these periods was the celebration of the 26th anniversary of the Youth Pledge, on 28 October 1954 through *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia* (Congress on Indonesian). Muhammad Yamin, the Minister of Education and Culture who was also the most important figure in the declaration of the Youth Pledge in 1928, endorsed this congress which was held in Medan, North Sumatra for one week and attended by a large number of participants not only from Indonesia but also overseas (Anwar, 1980). The primary result of the congress was to make more organized and

intensive efforts in the development of Indonesian. Another outcome of the Congress was to eliminate people's claim that Indonesian was not different with Malay. The Congress admitted that the origin of Indonesian is Malay but it is already "adapted and modified in accordance with its growth and development in the society" (Anwar, 1980, p. 116). Again, this is an effort to strengthen the identity of Indonesian as the language for the Indonesians. Furthermore, this statement implied that language planners have freedom to develop this language so that it will always be relevant for the Indonesian society (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Unfortunately, this congress is the only *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia* ever organized during the Sukarno period. When Suharto took over the presidential position from Sukarno, he continued the tradition to celebrate the Youth Pledge via *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia*. During the New Order period, the first Congress on Indonesian was held on 28 October 1978 and this event becomes a regular event carried out every five years until now.

I had the opportunity to go to the Ninth Congress on Indonesian from 28 October to 1 November 2008 which was held in Jakarta and attended by participants from Indonesia and the neigboring countries including China and Japan. Unlike the 1954 Congress emphasizing on how to successfully develop Indonesian as the unifying language, the 2008 Congress encompassed broader aspects, namely (1) the use of Indonesian, local languages, and foreign languages, (2) Indonesian and local languages' literature development, (3) the teaching of Indonesian and local languages including the literature, (4) the teaching of Indonesian for foreign language speakers, and (5) the usage of Indonesian in the media. These scopes of discussion entailed four important point. First, the government perceives the development of both Indonesian and local languages

equally important. This arguably is caused by the already solid position of Indonesian. Therefore, the government considers that the development of local languages is of instrumental and will not hamper the spread of Indonesian as it is already penetrated even in remote places (see section 6.4). Second, the use of foreign language becomes a concern and the needs to stipulate the use of foreign words especially in the media are unavoidable. Third, in the globalized era the most effective and efficient way to spread Indonesian is through the media both offline and online. Lastly, to maintain Indonesian as the unifying language is important but to develop Indonesian as one of the global languages is also crucial.

I attended two sessions chaired by a Chinese and a Japanese professors who taught Indonesian at Indonesian Department in the universities in their respective countries. Their presentation in fluent Indonesian had captivated the audience, including myself. When they explained about the increasing number of students who wanted to learn Indonesian in their universities every year, the audience were awed to know that their national language was spread beyond the national borders. Some in the audience could not contain their pride and excitement so that after the completion of the two scholars' presentation, the audience expressed their gratitude to these professors for teaching Indonesian in their countries. Here, I witnessed the evidence of language pride and identity from the speakers of Indonesian who were proud to know that their national language, which numerically is superior but politically is inferior in the world, was going global.

Another speaker, an Indonesian who did his research in East Timor, reported that in East Timor which used to be a part of Indonesia but then gained their independence in

1999, the position of Indonesian weakened overtime. In the past, Indonesian was the most spoken language in this region but after the independence of East Timor, it became the third option for the East Timorese after Portuguese and Tetum. This presenter closed his speech with a request to the Indonesian government to make real efforts to reclaim the hegemonic status of Indonesian. The call for action he proposed is again another evidence of language pride and identity. This is also evidence that Indonesian plays a role as an expression of patriotic feeling.

With regard to Sukarno's contribution to the use of Indonesian, he had "set the norms of acceptable use of the national language" through the oratory channel (Anwar, 1980, p. 176). He gave real examples to the Indonesian people on how to use their language correctly and appropriately (Anwar, 1980). This is worth noting because as a charismatic leader who successfully strengthened the zeal of nationalism in every parts of Indonesia through his eloquent oration, the way he spoke would be followed by the Indonesians and this would accelerate the spread of the acceptable form of Indonesian (Anwar, 1980). In addition, in his era, a colloaboration between Indonesia and Malaya (now Malaysia) was formed in 1959 to propose a common spelling called *Melindo* (Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). This spelling was set to be in effect as the official spelling system for both Indonesia and Malaya by January, 1962. However, this bilateral cooperation ended because of the opposition of Indonesia in the creation of the Federation of Malaya (consisting of West Malaya, North Borneo, Singapore, and Sarawak) which resulted in violent conflicts between the two countries from 1963-1966. As a consequence, the implementation of Melindo was cancelled. When the confrontation was over and Suharto replaced Sukarno, the bilateral collaboration was resumed. The

result was a new spelling system called *Ejaan Baru yang Disempurnakan* 'the Improved New Spelling' started to be implemented in both Indonesia and Malaysia in 1972 and it is still used to this day.

The New Order

During the new order regime led by Suharto which lasted for 32 years from 1966 to 1998, unity is still the primary aspect of LPP. Anton Moeliono (1994), a strong promoters of Indonesian LPP, strongly agreed that the fundamental strategies of the Indonesian LPP should be based on the multilingual nature of the country. In fact, its role as the unifying symbol has become the most important factor for succesfully making Indonesian as the identity of an independent nation (Anwar, 1980, Foulcher, 2000; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Moeliono, 1994; Paauw, 2009). The former presidents Sukarno and Suharto are two most influential figures in the building of the national unity in the post colonial period. Over the course of 53 years after the independece, the sense of national unity has become an inseparable part in the lives of the Indonesians (Anwar 1980, Paauw, 2009). Even at the end of Suharto's presidency in 1998 where the Indonesians experienced violent political turmoil and in current period, the Reformation, the Indonesian people still strongly favor the unity above all (Wright, 2004). For example, during the presidential campaign in 2014, one of the candidates, Joko Widodo, used two finger salute representing 'peace' to distinguish his group from the other candidate. After Widodo won the election, he changed his salute to three finger greetings on the ground that 'three' alligned with the third principle of the philosophical foundation of the nation (*Pancasila*): the Unity of Indonesia. The change from two to three finger

greetings was an effort to unite the nation which was severely divided into two groups during the presidential campaign.

The New Order, under Suharto's presidency, is hailed to be the most succesful period in the development and implementation of LPP for its organized, intensive, and comprehensive strategies primarily through educational system and literacy (Anwar, 1980; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Paauw, 2009). Suharto actively ensured the acceptance of Indonesian as the national language through language pride attitude as an element of the national building which was expressed in his independence day speech in 1972: "To own a national language entails the love for the national language [...] Cultivation of our national language [...] is moreover a part of our national building." (Kentjono, 1986, p. 294). Although the government strongly supported the national slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), nevertheless the emphasis was on the unity (Arka, 2013).

To enhance the literacy level, Suharto initiated a program named *Koran Masuk Desa* (KMD) which literally means newspapers enter villages in 1973 and was finally launched in 1979 (Supriyoko, 1986). Through KMD, Suharto appointed big newspaper publishers in some provinces to distribute newspaper to (rural) villages for free which usually was distributed to the office of each villages' official (Supriyoko, 1986). Initially, there were only eight provinces partook in this program but in the following four years all provinces but one, East Timor which then was part of Indonesia, participated. As a result of KMD, the literacy rate of the villagers increased while at the same time Indonesian language had successfully entered in the most rural areas of Indonesia through the medium of mass media.

In relation to LPP, the Indonesian language planners responded to the unity advocacy with language standardization action. Besides resuming collaboration with Malaysia which resulted in the creation of the improved standard spelling system in both countries in 1972, the New Order period also succeeded in codifying the standards for grammar, lexicon, and structure (Anwar, 1980). Standardization is an appropriate strategy for a multilingual setting like Indonesia to fortify even more the relationship between national language and one nation, one country, and one culture frameworks (Moeliono, 1994). Standardization in the context of Indonesia is "a process where one variety of a language becoming widely accepted as a supradielectal norm and which still allows for minor modifications [...] flexibility is necessary for a standard language to be efficient" (Moeliono, 1994, p. 203). By declaring so, Moeliono predicted that in the near future the variety developed in Jakarta, the capital city, would be the standard norms of speaking and writing. He argued that this is the same to what is experienced by other countries where the variety used in the capital city (the center) is perceived high variety and later on transfrom to be the standard language.

Moeliono (1994) indicated that to standardize speaking is indeed challenging due to the diversity of local accents, but it is possible through the collaboration with the media, especially radio and television by strongly encouraging the TV presenters and radio announcers as the model speakers. I argue that this action was effective during the New Order because in that period, specifically prior to 1988 there was only one television station, *Televisi Republik Indonesia* (TVRI) owned by the government. From 1964 to 1988 all television programs must be in Indonesian language (Pauuw, 2009). Furthermore, the government policy to mandatorily require all private radio stations to

relay the news broadcasted every one hour by the state-owned radio station, *Radio Republik Indonesia*, became another catalyst for the spread of the standard Indonesian. For writing Moeliono (1994) expected journalists and writers be the role models for standard writing on the grounds that their written works are distributed regularly to wider population. This would help the spread and the acceptance of the standard language.

Pusat Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (The National Center for Language Development and Cultivation/NCLDC) which is the subordinate of the Ministry of Education and Culture and administratively responsible to the Director-General of Culture carried the tasks to standardize as well as disseminating the language as described below (Moeliono, 1994, p. 1999):

(1) development and cultivation of the national language and vernaculars in the fields of grammar, terminology, lexicography, dialectology, literature, and documentation;

(2) language research and conferences in cooperation with other government agencies as well as other domestic and foreign association;

(3) language information to all parties needing it, domestically or abroad;

(4) publication and dissemination of research results; and

(5) implementing the administration of evaluation for Director-General of Culture.

Since the day of its active operation in 1 April 1975, NCLDC (now known as *Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa* 'The National Language Board for Language Development and Cultivation') has published hundreds of thousand copies of dictionnaries of common and standard Indonesian, guidebooks for the improved spelling,

new terms, grammar and terminologies, language research publication, and even bilingual dictionaries of local languages-Indonesian. The board also collaborated with TVRI to spread their works through a weekly educative program with the duration of 30 minutes.

As I have mentioned previously, in 1954 the government finally gave attention on the development of the local languages. Yet, there were no real actions in response to such policy. Not until the coming of the new order did the government finally make organized plans to maintain the local languages by including the development and cultivation of the vernaculars (local languages) in the job description of the Language Board to appreciate the local wisdom and heritage (Moeliono, 1994). It is true that the National Language Board now takes into account the importance of cultivating the local languages; yet they still focus more on the development of Indonesian (Arka, 2013).

Table 5 prepared by Arka (2013, p. 89) shows that from 1975 through 2007 the board gave more publication opportunities to Indonesian than local language development. Table 6 depicts that within these local languages there is major imbalance between the healthy languages (i.e. Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese) and the non-healthy ones with regards to the number of publication (Arka, 2013). Arka (2013) also pointed out the uneven geographical spread indicating that less focus is given to regions like West Papua and Maluku although they are linguistically more diverse (see Table 7).

The reason why the National Language Board pays less attention to the local languages is arguably that the board has delegated the tasks on local language maintenance to twenty-two *Balai Bahasa* (Language Offices), local branches of the National Language Board spread across the archipelago (Arka, 2013). Each office branch is equipped with adequate facilities too. For example, each Language Office has an

informative website providing information with regards to its current and last publications (journal and books), updates their current events and services. Each office also supports language researches, organizes cultural and language related-events, has a library open for public, and collaborating with other insitution to promote both local languages and Indonesian. More specifically for Language Office of Yogyakarta, Sumardi who is my key informant at *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper informed me that this institution actively fosters Javanese language and literature through collaboration with this newspaper to carry out regular gatherings.

Table 5

Summary of publications of the National Language Board 1975-2007

LANGUAGES	FIELD OF PUBLICATIONS	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	
Indonesian	Gramar/aspects of Grammar	132			
	Dictionaries	228			
	Translations (into Indonesian)	15		35.8	
	Manuals and guides of different kinds	58	556		
	Congress Proceedings	6			69.7
	Literature/Literary studies	117			
Local Malay	Grammars/aspects of Grammar	124	527	33.9	
	Literature/Literary studies	403			
Local Vernacular Languages	Grammars/aspects of Grammar	355	471	30.3	30.3
	Literature/Literary studies	116			
TOTAL			1554	100	

Table 6

Local languages ranked in terms of grammar-related publications produced by the National Language Board (Arka, 2013, p. 89)

	Language	Grammar-related publications	% (of 355)
1.	Javanese	51	14.3
2.	Sundanese	24	6.7
3.	Balinese	14	3.9
4.	Lampung	9	2.5
5.	Acehnese	7	1.9

Table 7

Regions sorted on the basis of ratio publications/number of languages

	Language	Number of Publications	Number of Languages in the Publications	Ratio
1.	Java	82	3	27.3
2.	Sumatra	88	41	2.1
3.	Bali and Nusa Tenggara	46	25	1.8
4.	Kalimantan	49	32	1.5
5.	Sulawesi	36	26	1.4
6.	Papua	9	8	1.1
7.	Maluku	7	7	1

I explored the websites of both Yogyakarta and Medan (North Sumatera) Language Offices to examine their efforts for cultivating local languages in their respective areas. I intentionally chose those two branch offices because Yogyakarta is a region where the major language speakers, the Javanese, live whereas Medan represents speakers of minority languages, i.e. *Batak* and *Malay*. I found that even though both offices are to accommodate the maintenance of local languages, they do give equal attention to the development of Indonesian and local languages. For example, their journals contain equal articles on local and Indonesian languages including articles about

the spread of foreign languages especially English in Indonesia. Events they organized would also have to do with the development of both national and local languages. With regard to researches which focus on two areas, language and literature, I found that almost all researches on literature discuss local language literature whereas studies on languages are dedicated equally if not more to examine language issues relevant for Indonesian language development. Therefore, the meaning of local language has somewhat shifted to literature-related aspects not its usage for communication.

The new order period also marked the escalation of the national economic growth and foreign investments as a result of the oil boom phenomenon in the mid 1970s to early 1980s. In response to this, foreign language mastery especially English becomes a required skill. Because of that, the study of foreign languages becomes an avenue to enter "the worlds of science and technology" (Moeliono, 1994, p. 197). Since the independence of Indonesia, with a significant assistance from Ford Foundation, USAID, British Council, and Word Bank through the provision of English textbooks and teacher training projects, English has actually become the most important foreign language taught in junior and secondary schools (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

The most recent English teaching development in the New Order era is based on the 1994 curriculum. According to Kaplan and Baldauf (2003), for the six years secondary education, the students learned English for 45 minutes four times a week in junior high schools (grade 7-9) while the high school students (grade 10-12) must take English for 3 to 7 hours a week, depending on their majors (Physics, Life Sciences, or Humanities). The objective of English teaching in junior high schools was to communicate while in senior high schools the emphasis was on grammar-translation

encompassing a mastery of 4,000 words, a competence they needed for their tertiary education (Lowenberg, 1991).

Although English educators had made their best efforts to provide curriculum that would succesfully achieve the goals, they admitted that they somewhat fail. Many students finished their secondary education with vocabulay of less than 1000 words (Lowenberg, 1991). Because of this, students found it challenging to understand textbooks written in English once they were in college as 80 per cent of the university library materials are in English (Nababan, 1991). This made them heavily dependent on their instructors to provide the content of the teaching materials in its Indonesian version (Nababam, 1991). This meant that in tertiary education English played a role as an important library language (Nababan, 1991).

Lowenberg (1991) points out another important role of English namely a source for new lexical development. The National Language Board favors English over other foreign languages for the development of new terminology in science and technology. Even though the board claims to be pro to the development of new terminology based on the local languages, the influx of modern English terms often makes the board turn to English. For example, when they introduced the word *mangkus* or *berhasil guna* as a translation for 'effective' and *sangkil* or *berdaya guna* for efficient, the media preferred the acculturation of those words, *efektif* and *efisien*, which the public vigorously followed (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Because of that, the board stopped encouraging the words *sangkil* and *mangkus*. This statement is corroborated by one of the presenters from the National Language Board in the 2008 Congress on Indonesian. He explained that the board follows the policy of being flexible; that is, to accept the acculturated foreign

words which the public prefer the most. Indeed, many of the English borrowings "have been aculturated to make them function in their new sociocultural context" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 98).

As an increasingly significant international language, English becomes synonimous with the Indonesian elites since this group clearly express their inclination toward English. Thus, English in the post colonial role (and specifically in the New Order period) plays the same role as Dutch, a symbol of the well-educated and modern person (Lowenberg, 1991). However, Lowenbeg (1991) argued that unlike Dutch during the colonial period, English will never be spread as a wider means of communication because only few native speakers live in Indonesia and Indonesian has already established its solid position in this country. Yet, Lowenberg (1991) predicts that in the future English will garner a more dominant position as a language of wider communication due to the fact that an increasing number of Indonesians sees it as a language of success in the globalized era.

The Reformation to the Present

After the fall of Suharto in 1998, Indonesia entered a new political era known as the Reformation. In this period, there has been some radical political changes such as presidential and house of representative election process, more freedom of speech, and transformation of the local government system from centralized to autonomous one. With regard to the change from centralized to autonomous regions, local government now has more freedom to use the resources for local development which includes language as stated in the Ministerial Decree number 24 year 2009 (see Appendix B). Despite the dramatic changes at the political domain, there is no drastic changes in local language

maintenance (Arka, 2013). It is true that during the Reformation era the government has issued the Decree number 24 in 2009 to stipulate the development of local languages, but the focus is still to strengthen the position of this language in Indonesia and to protect it from the influx of foreign languages. Moreover, the promotion of Indonesian as a symbol of a shared nationhood is still disseminated because the government still sees that diversity to some extent may be prone to conflicts (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). As a result, both central and local governments do not give attention to the negative impact of national LPP toward local languages although scholars are already aware of this issue (Arka, 2013). Nevertheless by considering the sociohistorical roles of Indonesian during the colonial, Arka (2013) claimed that the role of Indonesian as the unifying language "and the enforcement of this unifying function will remain an important part of the strategy of the central government in its nation building effort and in controlling its territorial integrity" (p. 88).

In my opinion, "controlling its territorial integrity" becomes the most important keyword in the Reformation era on the grounds that after the New Order collapsed in May 1998, there is an ongoing euphoria of freedom which resulted in three particular regions demanding to be independent from Indonesia. The first territory separating from Indonesia was East Timor or Timor Leste in 1999. There had been a long history of conflict between East Timor and the central government since the New Order period. It was only one year after the fall of Suharto that East Timor finally declared their independence. I argue that this experience has led the Indonesian government to be more cautious to treat two other provinces, Aceh and West Papua, which are rich in natural

resources, oil in Aceh and gold in West Papua, and where separatist activities have been evident since the New Order period.

In the New Order era also known for its authoritarian regime, the government enforced the centralisation to ensure the national unity by using harsh ways while the authority at the lowest level would interpret this as a harsh way too (Arka, 2013). Based on his study in 2005 on language shift and maintenance of the minority ethnic group Rongga, Nusa Tenggara Timur in the east part of Indonesia, Arka (2013) found that children from this ethnic group had to endure corporal punishment when they were caught using their local languages in the classroom. I am curious how the central government in this current era will react with any language revitalization activities in regions which are potentially disintegrated such as West Papua.

Maintaining the local languages are guaranteed in the Ministerial Decree number 24 year 2009 and it is their rights as a special autonomous region to foster their native language. However I argue that this activity in the future may be potentially labelled as a threat when their possible positive attitude toward their language will lead to language loyalty and pride. My assumption is based on Arka's fieldwork in Merauke, West Papua where the people must be very cautios when they carried out a communal activity in order to not be miscategorized as a separatist or a threat to the unity of the nation.

> When I carried out a workshop in Merauke, I met with officials from the department of education, and was asked to report to *kesbang* (*kesatuan bangsa*)—a government department responsible for detecting anysuspicious activity threatening national unity. On another occasion, the head of Dinas Kebudayaan (Local Department of Culture), a Yeinan person, told me that that he made sure

> that small symbolic things such as the pictures of the president and vice president were on the wall, just to avoid being labeled as a separatist. (Arka, 2013, p. 86).

Because no studies have been conducted to examine that fostering native language in some 'sensitive' regions is perceived as a threat to the unity of the nation, I cannot make any further regarding this matter. This issue is worth examining for a future research.

Because of the aggressive national LPP, the usage of local languages especially the minority ones have shrinked dramatically for merely home domain or for intra-ethnic communication (Arka, 2013; Himmelmann, 2010). Even in this micro level, these minority languages are less favored over Indonesian or a local variety of Indonesian or the lingua franca of the region. Although people in regions like West Papua are always critical toward the political and economic dominance of the central government in their land (despite the fact that the government granted them special autonomy status), they give the least attention to the linguistic issue (Arka, 2013). They have no resistance at all to accept Indonesian and interestingly members of the separatist movement, *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Free Papua Movement) also embrace Indonesian (Arka, 2013). However, there is no research investigating why the Papuans including the Free Papua Movement are inclined to Indonesian language despite their position being marginalized.

With regard to foreign languages during the Reformation era, especially English, it has increasingly gained stronger position as a language of intellectuality, modernity, and success. Prior to the introduction of the 1994 national curriculum, English was only availale for the secondary education; however, after the implementation of the 1994 curriculum, English is offered to the fourth or fifth graders (Renandya, 2000). The demand to learn English becomes higher with the needs of people to receive higher

education in local universities or abroad. I argue that this trend is encouraged by the government decision to send the Indonesians abroad to pursue a graduate degree by providing fellowships to hundreds of students every year. However, Renandya (2000) questioned the commitment the government to promote English as the language of education.

Despite seemingly support English education, the government opposes the influx of English (and other foreign languages) by setting severe restrictions on the use of English (see the decree 24/2009 in Appendix B). Nevertheless, this restriction does not change the status of English as the gateway for success. Moreover, the government officials express ambivalence toward English by often borrowing English words when speaking to give impression of being educated (Anwar, 1980). In fact, the positive attitude toward English expressed by the government and the Indonesian people get stronger over time. As a consequence, the local languages especially the minor ones become prioritized the least. In addition to that, the government points out the importance of learning foreign languages (English and other foreign languages) by as stated in article 43 of the Decree 24/2009 which aims at improving the competitive capacity of the Indonesian citizens in the globalized era. This decree is evidence of the government's positive attitude toward foreign languages as a gateway to success in the modern world.

Pasal 43

(1) Pemerintah dapat memfasilitasi warga negara Indonesia yang ingin memiliki kompetensi berbahasa asing dalam rangka peningkatan daya saing bangsa.

(2) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai fasilitasi untuk meningkatkan kompetensi berbahasa asing sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah.

Article 43

(1) The government shall facilitate the Indonesian citizens who want to possess competence in foreign languages to improve the competitive capacity of the nation.

(2) More precise provisions for the facilities to improve competence in foreign languages referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

In conclusion, the national language policy of Indonesia has not radically changed since the Dutch occupation to this day with an emphasis always on the discourse of one nation-one language. This principle is influenced by the Herderian ideology of one language, one nation advocating that linguistic unification is equivalent to the natonal unity (Zentz, 2012). The inclination to adopt Herderian ideology is caused not only by the fact that Indonesia is linguistically diversed but also the background of Indonesia's founding fathers who all were educated in the Dutch system of education and the majority of them even studied in the Netherlands (Zentz, 2012). As Herderian ideology was influential during the nineteenth century in Europe which resulted to the Dutch colonial government to make Indonesia a Dutch speaking colony, the founding fathers of Indonesia who at that time pursued their tertiary education in the Netherlands also saw the ideology fit for a pluralistic nation like their country (Zentz, 2012). Instead of using

Dutch language as a symbol of unity, they selected another language symbolizing an independent and unified nation as a way to get rid off the legacy of the colonialisation.

With the idea of national unity as a supreme mission, it is not surprising that the foundation of Indonesian LPP even until today is based on this ideal. Indonesian language policy is undoubtedly one of the most successful policies in the world. The idea of language as a symbol of shared nationhood is definitely a paramount factor of this success. Nevertheless, this success is achieved with negative consequences as the local languages are endangered because of losing their speakers. Language shift to Indonesian is indeed a nationwide phenomenon penetrating even the most remote place in the archipelago. The next section is devoted to elaborate shifting language loyalty from the west to east parts of Indonesia while the final section will examine Javanese language shift from the macro perspective.

Nationwide Transition from Local Languages to Indonesian

In the early 1970s the mother tongues of the majority of the Indonesian were still their ethnic languages; in fact, the local languages were accused as the culprit which hindered the development of Indonesian (Anwar, 1980; Rubin, 1977). The government also made little efforts to cultivate Indonesian in school domain and did not prepare curriculum which encouraged the dissemination of Indonesian (Rubin, 1977). Moreover, local languages were used as the main medium of instruction in primary schools for first and second graders and that the duration to learn speaking, writing, and reading in Indonesian was very limited−altogether was six hours per week (Rubin, 1977). When the students were at the third grade, the medium of instruction changed to Indonesian but in junior and high schools, the duration of Indonesian was increased although at university

level, Indonesian was not a required course (Anwar, 1980; Rubin, 1997). As a result, students at all levels of education were not competent when they used Indonesian to express their critical thinking orally and in written (Rubin, 1977). In response to this, the director of Indonesian language planning agency in the 1970s, Amran Halim, suggested that Indonesian should be a compulsory subject in all level of education including tertiary education (Rubin, 1977). In spite of insufficient formal instruction in Indonesian, the majority of people believed that their competence in Indonesian language was satisfying just because they were born and raised in Indonesia (Rubin, 1977).

However, not long after that, in mid 1980s Errington (1985) unveiled that the number of Indonesian people shifting to the national language increased significantly. 83% of 131 million citizens over the age of five had called Indonesian their mother tongue (Errington, 1984). As a result, Indonesian language policy has threatened 50 percent of the total number of the ethnic languages. Indeed, Indonesian language planning and policy was so successful that by 2006 about 90 per cent of the Indonesian population can speak Indonesian fluently (Musgrave, in print). In fact, Moeliono (1994) claimed that "within another generation, the entire nation will be speaking Indonesian" (p. 128). Moeliono's claim is supported by Setiawan (2013) who states that now the speakers of Indonesian is arguably equal to the total number of Indonesian citizens.

The decline of the local languages was actually already predicted in early 1950s by A.A. Fokker, a Dutch scholar, who warned the Indonesian government that the linguistic diversity in Indonesia was in peril in the near future if there was no action to maintain it (cited from Anwar, 1980). His prediction was proved by the 1971, 1980, and 1990 census which recorded a significant increase of shifting to Indonesian (Steinhauer,

1994). Based on the census, Steinhauer (1994) reported that by 1990, almost 100% of the male and female population aged 10 to 49 claimed superior fluency in Indonesian, while only 30% of zero to nine year old and 60% of the fifty plus groups were fluent in it. With regard to the statistic of the zero to nine year old, Musgrave (in print) interpreted this as evidence that home languages in many regions were the local languages and that the children first learned Indonesian at school. Moreover, the fact that forty percent of the older generation were not fluent in Indonesian corroborated Rubin (1977) that prior to 1980s Indonesian was taught very little in schools and that mother tongues for almost every one were their ethnic languages. Unfortunately the 1990 census was the last time to have various questions related to language use. Therefore, no current official data from the official census are available to analyze language shift trend (Musgrave, in print). Another concern raised by Musgrave (in print) is that the official reports of those three censuses only mentioned eight major languages whereas smaller languages were merely classified as 'others'. Thus, the reports could not provide sufficient information about the language shift/maintenance trends in minor languages.

Indeed, retention of mother tongues can no longer be maintained strongly in all domains and regions. Especially in schools and government offices, the use of Indonesian language is now unquestionnable. Take Daniel S. Lev's study in 1972 as an example (cited in Anwar, 1980). He reported that the language used in Islamic court was the local language, except in the capital city, Jakarta; however, it is now impossible to find local languages used in this court. In the western part of Indonesia, in Lampung, a province located in the southern part of Sumatra Island, the major factor of shifting to Indonesian is caused by the settlement of people from Java and Bali Islands which comprised eighty

percent of the total population (Anwar, 1980; Katubi, 2007). Because of the arrival of the new settlers, the linguistic repertoire has changed to be more inclined to Indonesian, especially for the interethnic communication. Before the transmigration, Lampungic used to be the primary medium of daily communication. Katubi (2007), citing the Departemen of Education of Culture's finding, reminded us that Lampungic has gradually lost its role not only in the urban areas but also in the villages since almost three decades ago. Indeed, since 1970s, the indigenous people of Lampung used their language only for limited contexts such as home, neighborhood, and village meetings. Although Lampungic was still present at home in 1970s, the current sutuation is completely different. The inclination toward Indonesian has actually entered the micro level and this is especially true for the native Lampung families residing in the urban areas and among young generation (Gunarwan, 1994 cited in Katubi, 2007). Although the local government has decided to make Lampungic to be a mandatory subject for all students regardless of their ethnicity from elementary to high school, language transmission efforts could not achieve successful results. The fact that the majority of students are the newcomers while the native are numerically minority becomes the primary reason of the failure.

In another part of Sumatra Island, Bengkulu, Anwar (1980) found that people in the city preferred Indonesian to their mother tongue whereas in the rural area people still used their native language for daily conversation although they understand Indonesian. Anwar also found that those who had minimum formal education were generally not proficient in Indonesian and would use the local dialect of Indonesian when conversing with the non-Bengkulu people. Yet, they understood perfectly Indonesian even though they did not have productive skills in it. Unlike in Bengkulu, in the city of West Sumatra,

Anwar (1980) discovered that people in the city were still loyal to their native language regardless of the topic of the conversation, whether it was about politics, economy, social, or just trivial topics, as long as the occasion was informal. However, they would switch to Indonesian when the occasion was formal. Moreover, the West Sumatrans living in their homeland strongly expected their fellows who were born and grew up in West Sumatra but then moved to other regions/islands to speak in their native language when returning to their hometown. Those who failed to meet the expectation by speaking Indonesian entirely would be called "crank or crazy" (Anwar, 1980, p. 156). Interestingly, the West Sumatrans who immigrated to other regions did not encourage their children to maintain their native language (Anwar, 1980). In fact, parents would speak to their children in Indonesian and use Indonesian when conversing with other West Sumatran fellows when the children were present (Anwar, 1980). Furthermore, their children would tend to pick up the languages in the regions where they resided. As a consequence, the second generation only spoke Indonesian or spoke Indonesian and the local language but they were totally unfamiliar with their supposed-to-be-mother tongue (Anwar, 1980).

In Java Island, which is situated in the east of Sumatra Island, shifting to Indonesia is also visible from the west, center to east part of the island. The first is the case of Sundanese, a language spoken by the Sundanese ethnic group in West Java province (Indrayani, 2011). Based on the census carried out by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2010 (cited in Millie, 2012), this province is inhabited by 43,053,732 people and 97.65 per cent are Muslims. Out of this number, the Sundanese comprises 74 per cent of the total population or around 32 million people and this makes them the second largest ethnic group after the Javanese in the country; however, not every Sundanese can

speak their ethnic language. Indrayani (2011) indicates there are 27 millions who can still speak their ethnic language. Unfortunately, there is no detail information regarding their level of proficiency and the scope of the usage (such as family, workplace, or school). Indrayani (2011) claimed that the declining number of Sundanese speakers is caused by the negative attitude of the Sundanese toward their own language. She found that Sundanese parents, besides emphasizing on Indonesian language for daily communication, encouraged their children to take after-school-English-course whereas their native language did not become a priority.

According to Anwar (1980), since 1970s Indonesian language has been widely used in the urban areas of West Java and the well educated Sundanese although they preferred to speak in Sundanese for affective communication with their relatives or closed friends. In the villages and rural areas, Indonesian was used only in very limited formal occasions such as public meetings and schools (in the classrooms). Another finding reported by Anwar is that the Sundanese never forced outsiders to speak Sundanese. For example, in a casual conversation in the office, the Sundanese would speak their mother tongue but when a non-Sundanese person joined the conversation, they would switch to Indonesian. However, to their Sundanese fellows, they would be less lenient. They would feel annoyed and label a Sundanese person, who could speak Sundanese, arrogant if s/he refused to speak in Sundanese during an informal conversation. Millie (2012) found that the attitude of being tolerant speakers when non-Sundanese people join the conversation is still true today.

In a more specific domain, religion (specifically Islam), Millie (2012) found the choice of Indonesian or Sundanese depends on the nature of the setting; that is, whether it

is informal (e.g. life cycle celebrations like marriage, circumcisions, birthday, or Islamic feast celebrations) or formal (e.g. preaching organised by the government institution and/or companies). The former requires Sundanese language because its affective function will work well to engage the audience into the familial and festive events whereas the latter is better expressed in Indonesian to disseminate formal messages, usually related to religious vision of national development and unity, to wider audiences who may not be Sundanese speakers (Millie, 2012). In addition to this, both in formal and informal preachings, the preacher will borrow some Arabic language, specifically when citing the Qur'an and hadith (a report of the teachings, sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad) (Millie, 2012). Also, at the commencement the preacher greeted the audience in Arabic (*Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* 'May the peace and mercy of Allah be with you') and ended the speech by reciting some supplications in Arabic. This practice indicates "Arabic's privileged position as the language of revelation, as a language for worship and supplication, as a sign of learning" (Millie, 2012, p. 383). Just like in other parts of Indonesia, rapid shift to Indonesian is common too within the Javanese speakers (see chapter 1 sub-section Javanese language and society).

In Sulawesi Island (also known as Celebes), rapid shift to Indonesian started in 1970s and the phenomenon had reached the rural areas of this island. One of the areas that experienced major language shift is the Gulf of Tomini and Tolitoli in northern Central Sulawesi where Tomini-Tolitoli, a group of eleven major dialects, were spoken. According to Himmelmann (1996), there were two primary causes why people in this area leve behind Tomini-Tolitoli: immigration and emigration. Since 1970s, due to the

transmigration policy, a substantial number of immigrants from other islands especially Java and Bali to Tomini and Tolitoli cannot be avoided. Apart from transmigration, the reason of new settlers especially from neighboring regions within the island of Sulawesi were drawn to Tomini-Tolitoli was that they looked for economic prosperity from cultivating and selling coconut and cloves, two main agricultural commodities in this district which were (and still are) highly sought after in the national market. Just like what happened in Lampung, the influx of the newcomers made significant contribution to the changes of linguistic repertoire in Tomini and Tolitoli (Himmelmann, 1996). Whenever the Natives of Tomini-Tolitoli needed to communicate to the newcomers, they had no other choice but to use Indonesian or other mutually available major local languages in Sulawesi. Himmelmann also reported intermarriages between the new settlers and the Native speakers of Tomini-Tolitoli have made Indonesian more dominant within the family domain.

Rapid development of elementary education especially to meet the needs of the growing population as a result of immigration was also another factor accelerating the shift to Indonesian. Children, aged as young as seven year old, were already introduced with Indonesian at schools not only due to the role of Indonesian as the offical language, but also as the lingua franca to connect students and teachers who were multilingual speakers. Since most of the teachers were not the Natives speakers of Tomini-Tolitoli and some students were the children of the new settlers, they would primarily communicate in Indonesian. As a result, the national language became the most dominant language within the school domain as well.This finding supports Paauw's statement (2009) claiming that the development of educational system and literacy makes the most significant

contribution to the spread of Indonesian nationwide. In 1930, only one third of the total population of the Indonesians over the age of 10 year old was literate (Moeliono, 1993). In contrast, 51 years after the independence, the literacy rate increases by 1996, after 51 years of independence, the national literacy rate is recorded at 87.26% by 1996 (Bukhari, 1996 cited in Paauw, 2009).

The second factor causing the shift to Indonesian is emmigration (Himmelmann, 1996). It was common for the young generation from the upper class families to pursue education and to find a job as civil servants in government institutions in big cities. When they returned home during the holiday, they would bring along with them linguistic influence from the cities which was to speak in Indonesian language. The economic boom due to high demand for coconuts and clove had also allowed the inhabitants who used to be poor to get access to higher education. In the past, only those who came from the affluent families could have better education; however since the economic boom, access to better education was open to everyone. Although elementary education was already available, further level of educational institutions were absent. As a result, those who wished to pursue secondary and tertiary level of education had to leave their home. The same as their upper class counterparts, the lower class groups who received high educational attainment in big cities would disseminate Indonesian language to their relatives. The local people who finally received higher educational attainment were likely to live permanently in the cities to work for government institutions or other white collar occupations and to start a family there. This phenomenon contributed to changes in the linguistic repertoires of their relatives in Tomini and Tolitoli. They would tend to converse in Indonesian whenever their relatives from the city paid a visit. Moreover, the

impression of being successful, educated, and modern that their relatives gave, led the Native People of Tomini and Tolitoli to support the use of Indonesian at home.

Himmelmann (1996) also indicated another relevant factors contributing to the accelerating shift: improved transportation. Better transportation system was mainly to accommodate the transportation of agricultural commodities. It also resulted in better mobility for people to travel to Tomini-Tolitoli and to access big cities. Another factor was the strong influence of television in the local people's daily life since late 1980s. In fact, based on Himmelmann's observation (1996), watching TV was the most popular entertainment activity. Since almost all of the television programs are conducted in Indonesian, exposure to Indonesian is unavoidable. Because of the aforementioned factors, nowadays some dialects within Tomini-Tolitoli group are categorized as moribund, some are endangered, and only a few are vital but potentially endangered in the long run (Himmelmann, 1996).

In the eastern part of Indonesia, located the furthest from the capital city of Indonesia and considered less developed than other regions in Indonesia, language shift is also rapidly in progress. I have mentioned earlier that language shift in Maluku has occured dramatically in both Muslim and Christian communities. In fact, the trend to shift was strong even before the independence of Indonesia and both groups experienced the same pattern (Musgrave, in print) and at that time was not caused exclusively by religious affiliation. The shift was initiated by the needs to communicate with other groups such as trading or other purposes related to the Dutch colonial government. The medium of intergroup communication was Ambonese Malay (Malay variety used in Maluku) while for the intra-group one, the mother tonguge played the primary role. Nowadays, the

Christian communities mostly use Ambonese Malay and Indonesian while Muslim communities tend to choose Indonesian for daily communication. Thus, none of the groups prioritize their local languages. It is true that the local government imposes on the teaching of the local languages but the results are far from satisfying. This is primarily caused by the linguistic diversity in the area which makes it difficult to pass on local languages in schools. Unlike in Java (Central and East) where there is only one major ethnic language spoken, there are forty two languages spoken in Maluku and the majority of them have a small number of speakers (Musgrave, in print). Therefore, it is challenging to prepare the teaching materials as well as costly to employ teachers and provide textbooks because in one school there might be students coming from different groups and speaking different languages. Another reason is that the home environment in Maluku is less supportive than in Java to disseminate the native language to the children (Kurniasih, 2006). Kurniasih (2006) indicated that in Java, some parents still use Javanese at home whereas in Maluku such linguistic practice has compeletely stopped in most areas.

Even physical isolation can no longer protect a language from the spread of Indonesian. Anwar (1980) reported that in Lembah Baliyem, a very remote place in the most east part of Indonesia,West Papua, the inhabitants were already familiar with Indonesian and the language was even used as the primary means of inter-village communication. By considering that Anwar's report is dated more than thirty years ago, the current linguistic situation in West Papua resembles to other regions in Indonesia; that is, the majority of Papuan have shited to Indonesian. The most recent study conducted by Arka (2013) proved my assumption. He discovered that in a remote village

in Merauke, West Papua, almost all young people only speak Indonesian or the local variety of Indonesian and that they only posses varying degrees of passive competence of their mother tongue.

Arka (2013) found that people generally do not realize that they gradually are losing their mother tongue. It is the elders who become more aware of this phenomenon but their awareness does not come instantly. They came to realize that they lost their language only when Arka (2013) asked them to compare how people used to speak the language in the old days and at the present. The local languages usually have rigid rules on linguistic politeness; thus, lack mastery of the local languages is often accompanied by the diminishing skills of culturally appropriate speaking. After reflecting to the different way people spoke the language in the past, these elders finally know that they are losing not only their language but also their culture (Arka, 2013).

In contrast, Arka (2013) reported that younger generation do not perceive the language shift phenomenon as a problem simply because their mother tongue is already a minor language. In fact, Arka's participants, young people in Flores, Nusa Tenggara Timur for his fieldwork in 2004 knew that their language was losing its speakers but they did not feel upsate about it. For them, it was natural that Indonesian or other major languages played more important role in their daily linguistic repertoire as opposed to weak languages like their mother tongue. Furthermore, they believed that the solid position of Indonesian as the language of education, literacy, modernization, and social mobility (Wright, 2004) deserved the language to be prioritized. Younger generation generally do not see any tangible benefits in being loyal to their mother tongue because maintaining their mother tongue will not help them to get a better life while the mastery

of Indonesian will lead them to better opportunities in the future (Arka, 2013; Setiawan, 2013; Zentz, 2012). Although speaking only Indonesian does not always lead to better future, it definitely will alienate young generation from their culture and lead to "social problems rather than economic gains" (Arka, 2013, p. 81). Unfortunately, they were not aware of this, and to raise their awareness of the negative impact caused by languaege shift is definitely challenging. "When everything must be measured in a modern standard of economic success, language maintenance runs contrary to common sense" (Arka, 2013, p. 80).

"Can a language with millions of speakers be endangered?"

In this section, I will narrow down the discussion to examine the future of Javanese language on the basis of the following question: "Can a language with millions of speakers be endangered" (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014, p. 64). It is commonly known that language with a large number of speakers will likely survive than a minority language because of inevitable need of each individual in this speech community to communicate with each other using their language (Giles, Bourhis, &Taylor, 1977). However, the number of its speaker does not always mirror the vitality of a language (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014), This means that Javanese will likely be endangered regardless of its status as "the largest speech community in Indonesia and the largest Austronesian first language speech community in the world" (Adelaar, 2010).

Despite Javanese's doubtful vitality, all of my participants insisted that their language is well maintained and will survive simply because the number of its speakers is still high. A seemingly healthy language like Javanese which has around 80 millions speakers often deceives its speakers to think that their language is safe (Poedjosoedarmo,

2006; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014; Setiawan, 2013). But if they thoroughly examine some instrumental aspects such as intergenerational language transmission, language attitude, domains of language use, and competence in speech levels, they will realize that Javanese is in peril (Setiawan, 2013). According to Setiawan, what happens to Javanese language can be categorized as gradual attrition, a notion he borrowed from Grenoble & Whiley (2006). Gradual attrition is a silent killer as the attack is not sudden and radical; instead, it is attacking a language gradually but surely to a degree where the speakers are oblivious to it until one day their language is so chronically endangered that revitalisation is difficult (Grenoble & Whiley, 2006).

Although I did not distribute surveys to the people in Yogyakarta to get quantitative information of Javanese language shift, I use the data from *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper which indirectly could inform me about language shift problem. *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* is one of the oldest newspapers in Indonesia whose first issued was launched in September 27th, 1945, only one month after the proclamation of Independence. To this day, this newspaper is widely known as the voice of Javanese people and maintains a good relationship with the palace. It also preserves its tradition to use both Gregorian and Javanese calendars to mark the date of its daily issue as a representation of modernity (Gregorian calendar) and ethnic pride (Javanese calendar). *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* also has the largest number of subscribers compared to its competitors in the province of Yogyakarta and Central Java.

On March 1st, 1957, the publishing office of *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* introduced a weekly magazine, *Kembang Arum* (pseudonym), to strengthen the Javanese identity of *Kemerdekaan Bangsa*. The difference between the newspaper and the magazine was that

for the daily newspaper, the language used was Indonesian while the magazine was printed in Javanese language. The content of *Kembang Arum* was the same as a regular magazine, such as local, national and international news, special report, the editor's message, celebrity news, and science and technology. In addition to these articles, *Kembang Arum* also offered Javanese serial stories, short stories, Javanese language and ortography learning, vocabulary comprehension, proverbs and idioms, Javanese horoscope, and Javanese traditional stories.

Because of the economic crisis which hit Indonesia in 1998 and continued to bring tremendous negative impacts to the economic growth until the next several years, the publication of *Kembang Arum* magazine must be cancelled for good. On March 1st, 2001, Kembang Arum magazine was transformed into *Kembang Arum* article, a weekly special spread in *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* occupies two pages in the Sunday edition of the newspaper. Because of its limited space, the new version of *Kembang Arum* only contains Javanese astrology, knowledge about Javanese tradition, short story, poetry, vocabulary and idioms. I was curious why *Kembang Arum* is not revived because nowadays Indonesia experienced much better economic growth. According to my key informant in *Kembang Arum* office, Sumardi, the trend of *Kembang Arum* subscription before its cancellation was declining. Moreover, after ten years, the trend to read a piece about Javanese language and culture is not strong anymore since the society is more inclined to modernity. Therefore, to revive the magazine now is financially not wise.

The readers of the new version of *Kembang Arum* are its loyal readers who have been reading *Kembang Arum* prior to 1998, old generation who live in villages or outskirt of the city, Javanese language scholars, Javanese language students at local universities,

and Javanese language and culture enthusiasts. Sumardi admitted that young generation in general are not interested in this weekly Javanese article. To fill the space of *Kembang Arum*, the editor of *Kembang Arum* invites contributors to send their short story or any articles related to Javanese language and culture. They usually are Javanese language teachers, Javanese literary writers, Javanese language and culture experts, or students majoring in Javanese. Only articles about Javanese astrology and Javanese vocabulary and idiom are directly prepared by *Kembang Arum*'s editor.

Kembang Arum always receives a good number of writings from contributors every week. Because of that, Sumardi does not believe at all that Javanese language is gradually losing its speakers. How can a language lose its speakers when every week a robust number of articles flocking in to *Kembang Arum*'s editorial table? In addition to this, he mentioned about the fact that Javanese has millions of speakers and it is in fact still taught in schools. His denial reminds me of Poedjosoedarmo's statement (2006) I mentioned previously that people always focus on statistics but neglect to see thoroughly what lies beneath the numbers. Firstly, Sumardi's admission regarding low number of subscribers which becomes one of the considerations to end the magazine's life is a strong indicator of shifting language loyalty. There are also three things that caught my attention about the demographic of *Kembang Arum*'s readers. According to Sumardi, the readers are usually older generation who live in villages or in the outskirt of the city. Furthermore, some readers also come from a profession or a livelihood related to Javanese language and culture such as college students, experts, or teachers. This demographic information tell us that young generation who are the future protector of their native language do not read *Kembang Arum* and so do common people population

while the geographical location of the readers suggests that *Kembang Arum* is less relevant for the city people. All in all, the findings suggest that the future of Javanese language will be in terrible fate sooner than later if denials among Javanese speakers continue.

Besides the findings I unravelled from *Kembang Arum*, I found another important evidence supporting my claim about Javanese language shift. During the period of my fieldwork, I found that the visual existence of Javanese is diminishing although in the palace complex it still can be found easily. But outside the palace, Javanese is hardly present visually even in schools where the language is formally disseminated. In chapter 6, I reported the absence of signs written in Javanese inside and outside classrooms both in South and North schools as all signs are written either in Indonesian, English, and Arabic (for the case of South school). I somehow noted that Javanese has a visual existence when such presence help them to perform their Javanese identity. An event occured in August clearly illustrates the first role of Javanese in visual domain. In August 23rd, 2012, on the iconic street of downtown Yogyakarta, *Jalan Malioboro* (Malioboro Street), the mayor of the Yogyakarta municipality decided to change the street sign on Malioboro Street. The new sign was colourful and used modern design while the old sign was more classic and particularly used green color, representing the color of *Keraton*. The most important issue was that the new design left behind the use of Javanese ortography. It is worth noting that the street's signs in the Yogyakarta municipality are always written in both modern and Javanese orthography although the sign itself contains an Indonesian word, for example *Jalan* Malioboro, *jalan* is an Indonesian word meaning "street" while Malioboro is the name of the area.

Figure 28. Malioboro during the daytime (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

The way of writing using two different orthographic system does not exist in other Javanese speaking regions in Central Java and East Java provinces. Therefore, to incorporate two alphabetic systems is perceived by many as a bold Javanese identity declaration from the people of Yogyakarta. Because of that, the decision to take down the classic sign triggered major criticism expressed by the Javanese not only those who lived in Yogyakarta but also other provinces and non-Javanese people who at that time lived or had ever lived in Yogyakarta for study or those who had visited Yogyakarta briefly for vacation. They expressed their disappointment in mass media as well as online social networks. Even there were Facebook and Twitter accounts especially created to respond to this issue. Many disagreed with the mayor whereas few who supported him stated that everyone should embrace changes and respect freedom of expression in arts. Those who opposed the changes emphasized that the new sign had lost its Javanese identity mainly

because it completely used Indonesian and left behind the Javanese language, especially the Javanese characters. Finally, after creating public outburst for two weeks, the new sign was taken down for good on September 5th, 2012.

This incident suggests that Javanese language (in this case is represented by the orthography) is deemed important when it allows the Javanese to show their identity highlighting the traditional and local characters especially to the outsiders. The fact that Malioboro street is the most iconic area in this province where domestic and foreign tourists are flocked in strengthens the need to perform the Javanese identity and makes it an important feature for tourism purposes as well. Thus, there is an economic reward as a side effect of displaying their ethnic identity through this practice. However, the existence of Indonesian and English in visual domain is still far more visible than that of Javanese by considering that Indonesian is the *lingua franca* for the Indonesians visiting this area while English is to assist the foreigners. In contrast, the Javanese orthography simply means a symbol since many Javanese now cannot read it anymore.

The strategy of using Javanese language for identity performance reminds me of another important event occurring during the political crisis prior to the inauguration of the Sultan of Yogyakarta as the Governor. At that time, banners and posters written in Javanese language using modern orthography were scattered in all areas of the province even in rural regions to encourage the people of Yogyakarta to keep on fighting for the province special status and to show off to the outsiders their strong zeal to preserve this status. When the special status of the province was officially approved and the Sultan was finally inaugurated by the president of Indonesia on October 10th, 2015, all those banners and posters disappeared right away. This evidence suggests a similar function as the role

of Javanese orthography plays in tourist areas; that is, Javanese is visually used to strengthen the image of Javanese identity.

Figure 29. Visual linguistic repertoire in Malioboro (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Javanese language is also present visually in the domain associated with middle and lower social class, for instance traditional markets. Such market opens daily seven days a week from dawn to afternoon. People from middle to lower class background tend to choose a traditional market over a modern one because these markets offer fresh produce and other products with affordable price. Traditional market is often associated with less hygiene as well because of its semi-open building in addition to lack of facilities such as inadequate lighting, absence of cool storage to store poultry, meat and seafood, and poor waste management. With this stereotype, people coming from the upper middle class and upper class background prefer modern supermarkets which also denote prestige.

Figure 30. Daily activity in a traditional market (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 31. A sign written in Javanese language using modern orthography (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

Figure 7.4 shows a sign containing a call for action in Javanese language with modern orthography to keep the cleanliness of the market: *Pasare resik rejekine apik* which means the cleaner the market, the better the income. Being associated with poor sanitation has led the local government to put a number of signs in some places inside the market. The reason to select Javanese language is that all (or almost all) sellers and visitors are arguably Javanese; thus, the use of Javanese on the signs is relevant for such domain. Because the sign is not just a decoration but to inform the insiders (the Javanese people) to do something (in this case to maintain hygiene), Javanese orthography is not selected because Javanese people are no longer fluent in reading a text written in Javanese letters. In other words, the signs are not intended for identity performative purpose to show the outsiders how unique Javanese culture is and how Javanese people is proud of their language. Instead, they play a role for a real communicative function.

Figure 32. A sign written in Javanese language using both modern and Javanese orthography (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

In Figure 7.5, we can see a sign written in both modern and Javanese characters to inform the name of a market. *Pasar* is both a Javanese and an Indonesian words which means ‘market’ while *Demangan* is the name of the market. The above sign placed in the entrance gate of a traditional market is written in both modern and Javanese orthography. Because the sign is located by the street where everyone including tourists can see, Javanese identity is again highlighted here to fill the performative role. The practice of putting a sign in Javanese orthography or placing signs in some strategic spots to encourage people to do a particular action are absent in modern supermarkets because modern market is associated with upper class and modernity. Thus, language that is visually present in this domain is a language that is strongly associated with this social class, Indonesian while the presence of English is also common.

Figure 33. A modern supermarket in Yogyakarta (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

In short, Javanese especially written in its orthographic system is visually needed when it is used to display the ethnic identity as being exotic to the outsiders, for example the signs in Malioboro street and at the gate of traditional markets. The positive consequence of such practice is that it will bring economic benefit especially for tourism. Likewise, the use of Javanese language to visually show the Javanese identity is paramount to achieve political demand but once such request is met, the visual instrument is no longer needed. In contrast, for a pure communicative purpose to disseminate a message to the insiders about ordinary daily practices (i.e. to maintain cleanliness), Javanese language is deemed appropriate. However, Javanese for this purpose also becomes synonimous with the lower class.

Figure 34. The presence of English in modern supermarket (Photographed by Lusia M. Nurani)

The fact that Javanese is not present visually in school domains as I have reported in chapter 6 also suggests that this language is not relevant for educational sphere. The place of Javanese in visual domains has shrinked and replaced by Indonesian and to some degree English as well as Arabic. This means that in visual domains, the future of Javanese is also in doom and will only be relevant solely as a cultural artefact to symbolize the identity

Figure 35. A label of a product in a modern supermarket using Indonesian and English

To learn more about the positive value toward Arabic and the inclination toward Islam within the Javanese society, I interviewed Syafi'i, an important religious leader whose influence in Gemah village has transformed the village into more Islamic. My participant from Gemah village, Agus, accompanied me during the interview. When we

arrived, Agus kissed Syafi'i's right hand to show respect to Syafi'i and he did the same thing upon our leaving even though Syafi'i is much younger than Agus. Agus is already fifty year old while Syafi'i is in his late thirties. This is actually a common practice in Indonesia (especially Java) regardless of the age gap and from this practice it can be inferred that being religiously knowledgeable is valued higher than being older.

Syafi'i comes from a family of preachers. His maternal grandparents are Javanese while his father comes from a family of middle eastern descents. With this mixed background, he claims himself to be a Javanese but he admitted that he does not have good fluency in Javanese Krama as he mostly speaks in Indonesian or Javanese Ngoko. His wife who also comes from a family of middle easter descents, on the other hand, knows Javanese speech levels well. However, within home domain, Syafi'i asked his children to use Indonesian when they speak to their parents because they only know Javanese Ngoko Lugu. He found it very rude when his children speak to him or his wife in this variety. Therefore, Indonesian is deemed more appropriate as the home language.

Despite being actively teaching Islam in this province, Syafi'i is also a successful businessman. He uses the profit he earns from his business to run his organization and to provide job opportunities for his followers. Syafi'i who originally comes from a neighboring town started his religious activities in Yogyakarta in the early 2000. According to Syafi'i, many people in Yogyakarta at that time knew very little about Islam although they are Muslims.

> *Karena itu saya mulai mengajarkan Islam yang benar seperti ajaran Rasulullah.*
> Because of that, I started to disseminate the correct Islam just like what the Prophet taught.

His targets were (and still are) people who live in rural areas and countrysides whom he considers not knowledgeable about the right Islam. He also recruits people who live in deprived areas in the city because the young generation in those areas are prone to engage in crimes.

> *Di daerah pinggir kali Tengah banyak pemuda yang mabuk-mabukan, judi, dan liar tingkah lakunya. Setelah ikut pengajian saya, mereka sekarang bertobat nggak mencuri dan lain-lain. Sekarang kerja baik-baik.*
>
> The neigborhood on Tengah (pseudonym) riverbank, there were a lot of young people (male) who were into alcohol, gambling, and whose behavior was wild. After they followed my group, they have given up their old life, stop stealing for good. Now they have a good job (which does not break the law).

His explanation above supports Ratna and Agus' opinion about the role of religion as a panacea for all social problems.

Syafi'i is proud that his followers has rised significantly since the first year he started his organization. Indeed, Syafi'i has successfully recruited a large number of followers. In the next few days when I came to his place to observe the monthly event he organized, I saw approximately three hundreds people attended the event. Some even rented buses because they came from villages far from Syafi'i's place. However, according to Agus and his wife (Ratna), not all members were present because of transportation constraints. To cater the need of his followers, Syafi'i regularly comes to their villages to preach. In addition to the big event, there is a smaller weekly meeting too. Moreover, whenever his followers need his advises, they are welcome to come to him without having to wait until the next meeting or the next event is conducted. The

popularity of his group even draw the attention of the Minister of Religious Affairs who came to his montly event a year before. Syafi'i used this opportunity to give suggestion to the Minister of Religious Affairs that Religion subject should be included in the national exam.

With his intensive teachings, it is not surprising that his way of life becomes influential upon his followers. One of the most noticeable thing is that his followers like to learn Arabic only for religious reasons but also for conversation. For example, when Agus introduced me to him, Agus borrowed some Arabic words to start the conversation. Agus presented the same linguistic manner during the interview whenever he wanted to join in the conversation. Syafi'i told me that he is proud of his followers' positive attitude toward Arabic as they used to be illiterate in it and could not speak it at all. Now, they know how to use it for simple conversation and for the daily prayers. On the night of the monthly event, I could see that he did not exaggerate his claim. I saw each of his followers brought a small book containing prayers written in Arabic and they could read the book without any difficulty. I was amazed that within one decade, Syafi'i has successfully made his followers literate in Arabic. This finding strengthens my claim that religious identity now becomes crucial for the contemporary Javanese people.

In conclusion, the nationwide phenomena of local language shift in general and Javanese language shift in particular reflect the commitment of the Indonesian government toward the maintenance of linguistic diversity manifested in its national LPP. On the one hand, the government seems to support local languages through the establishment of Language Offices in some provinces and the issuance of laws and regulations related to local language education and maintenance. On the other hand, the

efforts to foster local languages are overshadowed by the intensive cultivation of Indonesian in all sectors. Zentz (2012) called this rhetorical action toward local languages as "lip service" (Zentz, 2012, p. 211) simply just to follow the global movements to respect the linguistic rights of the Indigenous people. I admit that the government indeed encouraged all citizens to not only learn and "love" Indonesian but also their native languages; however, much of the efforts are dedicated to secure the national unity through the implementation of one nation-one language policy. As a consequence, this ambivalence inevitably leads to language stratification which put local languages at the bottom of the ladder. Globalization and Islamisation forces which stimulate the Indonesians to embrace foreign languages especially English and Arabic have also further pushed the position of local languages. "In this atmosphere, Languages Other Than Indonesian may be loved, but they are not protected, and they are severely marginalized" (Zentz, 2012, p. 212).

Summary

In this chapter I presented the national language planning and policy (LPP) at the macro level which has been emphasizing on the idea of one nation-one language to highlight the loyalty to the national unity since the pre-independence period to this day. During the period of colonization, the role of Indonesian as a symbol of nationalism and national untiy to achieve the independence was so supreme that the principle of one nation-one language became the main foundation of LPP in the post colonial period.

The former presidents Sukarno and Suharto are two most influential figures in the building of the national unity in the independence era. Over the course of 53 years after the independence, the sense of national unity has become an inseparable part in the lives

of the Indonesians (Anwar 1980, Paauw, 2009). Both presidents had laid strong foundation of one nation-one language policy in the national LPP. Even in the current period, the Reformation, the Indonesian people still strongly favor the unity above all (Wright, 2004). For example, during the presidential campaign in 2014, one of the candidates, Joko Widodo, used two finger salute representing 'peace' to distinguish his group from the other candidate. After Widodo won the election, he changed his salute to three finger greetings on the ground that 'three' alligned with the third principle of the philosophical foundation of the nation (*Pancasila*): the Unity of Indonesia. The change from two to three finger greetings was an effort to unite the nation which was severely divided into two groups during the presidential campaign.

As a result of the intensive national LPP, the nationwide phenomena of language shift cannot be avoided and this has even reached the most remote area in Indonesia. Although the government seems to support local languages through the establishment of Language Offices to maintain local languages and the issuance of laws and regulations related to local language education and maintenance, the efforts to foster local languages are overshadowed by the intensive cultivation of Indonesian in all sectors. As a consequence, local languages have been pushed to the periphery in order to give a place for Indonesian to thrive. Globalization and Islamisation forces also contribute to the promotion of foreign languages especially English and Arabic and further marginalize the position of local languages.

Despite its status as the most spoken local language in Indonesia, Javanese is not exempted from this phenomenon. Javanese is now visually absence in schools while outside the school domain, its existence is only relevant when it is used to display the

ethnic identity of being exotic to the outsiders (i.e. tourists). Likewise, the use of Javanese language to visually show the Javanese identity is paramount to achieve political demand but once such request is met, the visual instrument is no longer needed. In contrast, for a pure communicative purpose to disseminate a message to the insiders about ordinary daily practices (i.e. to maintain cleanliness), Javanese language is appropriate as long as receivers of the message come from lower social class. In addition to that, the position of Javanese in the literacy world also weakens. This can be seen in the disappearance of Javanese magazine, *Kembang Arum*, which used to have a large number of readers. Since 1998, this magazine has stopped its publication due to financial problems caused by economic crisis and dramatic decrease of subscribers. Another important finding is that religious identity becomes a crucial part in the life of the contemporary Javanese Muslim people. As a result, positive attitude toward Arabic is evident including in the visual domain.

In the following final chapter, I will conclude this dissertation by addressing the four research questions which have guided this ethnographic inquiry. Then I will present the implications of the study and recommendations for future research in Indigenous language planning and policy.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I synthesize the findings of this study which address the four research questions of this dissertation. These responses to the research questions derive from the discussions presented in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7. After that, I present the implications of this study which include its intellectual merits and broader impacts. Finally, I propose some recommendations for future research based on my experience on the field.

Responses to the Research Questions

1. How do the Javanese people perceive what it means to be a Javanese? In what ways, if at all, does the Javanese language play a role in the construction and affirmation of the Javanese identity?

What is the meaning of being a Javanese? It is a short question but the answer to it is not simple because the question encompasses one's life story both as an individual and a social being. I also understand that the notion of identity is complex; therefore, to find the answer I must attentively "listen" to my participants' story through interviews and observation in order to finally be able to synthesize the meaning of being a Javanese from their perspective. This is especially true for my villager participants who found it difficult to articulate the meaning of being a Javanese verbally. So I looked the answer not only from the interviews but also from my interaction with villagers during my fieldwork in the two villages.

All my participants (the villagers, the teachers, and the elite) indicate that to have Javanese blood is the primary condition to be acknowledged as a Javanese. Their

universal opinion with regard to the importance of descent aligns with the definition of ethnic identity posited by Chandra (2012) and Joseph (2004). However, to be a "true" Javanese, not only does a person need to be Javanese-by-blood, but also enact Javanese aspects such as manner, customs, traditions, language, and culture. When a Javanese person regularly performs these Javanese ethnic categories in his/her daily life, s/he will have a thick "body memory of Javanese," a notion I directly cite from one of my participants, Bayu. To be holistically Javanese is definitely equivalent to being an "ideal" Javanese, but external influences inevitably intervene, and Javanese people do not enact all of their Javanese categories, one of which is their native language.

Language is unquestionnably the most obvious identity marker as the majority of the Indigenous people in Indonesia in general and Javanese in particular have given up their more obvious identity markers such as traditional attire. Because of that, all of my participants agree that in this era of globalization, the Javanese language is an important identity marker. Furthermore, to be competent in using the Javanese speech also will reflect a person's manner because the speech styles contain rigorous rules of politeness. Thus, to speak Javanese eloquently will boost one's credibility as a "true" Javanese. This statement is specifically relevant in the case of two Javanese language pre-service teachers, Nindya and Rahman, who come from a region where the inhabitants speak a minoritized Javanese dialect. They have worked hard to master the standard Javanese to be accepted in the standard Javanese speaking environment and to gain credibility as a competent future Javanese language teacher. In this context, the standard Javanese language becomes an instrument to include or exclude a person from being a credible Javanese.

Despite their positive attitude toward their native language as an identity marker, all participants share a common opinion that neither the scope of Javanese language use nor the fluency must determine the Javanese identity. Although now they use Javanese in narrower domains, this does not mean that they are no longer a Javanese. The shift away from their native language is simply their way to adapt to the globalized world which requires them and their offsprings to embrace Indonesian as the *lingua franca* and to learn foreign languages. Thus to not speak Javanese does not make someone entirely lose his/her Javanese identity. S/he is still a Javanese by blood but culturally is "less than," as they lose their "body memory" of Javanese.

2. How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the language ideology of the Javanese speakers?

The commitment expressed by the Indonesian government to maintain local languages in general and Javanese in particular is undeniable through the establishment of Language Offices and availablity of the laws and regulations to foster local languages. However, it is also true that the government has invested much more of their time, energy, and financial resources to strengthen the position of Indonesian throughout the archipelago as as a symbol of national unity. The systematic, effective, and continuous strategies of national LPP has made the existence of Indonesian visually, auditorily, and virtually stronger. As a consequence, Indonesian is regarded as the most important language in the modern Indonesia whereas the local languages including Javanese suffer (Alisjahbana, 1976).

With regard to Javanese language speakers, the national LPP evidently has impacted their language ideologies. Although all participants stated that the Javanese

language is important for Javanese identity, the majority of participants, excepting the teachers, did not express or evidence a strong intention to maintain their native language because, unlike Indonesian, Javanese language nowadays provides less access for a better life. It can be seen that they have the same ambivalent attitude as the Indonesian government toward the maintenance of their native language.

The villager participants showed the most clearly ambivalent attitudes compared to their teacher counterparts. Although the villgers believe in the importance of Javanese for their identity, they do not find it necessary to increase the teaching or the language in schools because it will decrease the teaching time for other subjects deemed to be more important, such as mathematics or science. Moreover, to expect the students master the language is also not relevant in this era because Javanese mastery is deemed less important in the academic and professional excellence. Therefore, to simply "know" their native language will suffice. The elite also display mixed feelings towards Javanese language maintenance. In spite of his profound knowledge in Javanese language and culture and his active participation to promote his native language and culture, Bayu is not passing on his passion and knowledge to his children on the grounds that he believes in freedom of choice. Thus, he lets their children decide whether they want to embrace their native language and culture or not.

My observation in schools and some public places in Yogyakarta suggest that Javanese is barely present in the visual domain while Indonesian and to some degree English as well as Arabic are ubiquitous. When Javanese is visually present, it is first to fulfill performative Javanese identity which gives economic and political benefits, for example the presence of street sign written in Javanese orthography in touristic areas,

banners and posters using Javanese language for mass mobilization for political actions. Visual written Javanese is also deemed relevant when the purpose of its presence is to fulfill communicative function in a setting associated with lower socioeconomic class. For example, the use of Javanese in traditional markets.

Not only is Javanese almost non-existent in visual domains but it is also rarely found in the contemporary literacy world. Because of that, Javanese writings are generally associated with the past. *Kembang Arum* has been trying to fulfill this void through its weekly publication. However, a two-page weekly Javanese article inserted in the *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper Sunday edition fails to expand the demographic of their readers who mostly are older generation and those who have professions related to Javanese language and culture. The publishing office of *Kemerdekaan Bangsa* newspaper also made an attempt to promote the development of Javanese literature by publishing a Javanese short story book in 2009 but this action is done one time only. In contrast, publications in Indonesian can be found everywhere. This situation has led the Javanese people to be unfamiliar with written Javanese language. The finding in North School, where the students had to use a Javanese-Indonesian dictionary to understand the content of a Javanese short story, clearly demonstrates the alienation of the Javanese people from written Javanese.

Unlike the spoken language, written Javanese often uses vocabulary rarely found in daily spoken interaction and widely known only by the older generation. This is actually almost the same as Indonesian or English in that their written language, especially that used in literary works or academic writings, will involve vocabulary not commonly used in oral communication. However, the problem with the current Javanese

speakers is that they seldom read a text written in their language; as a consequence, they are no longer well accustomed to its vocabulary. This finding is in line with Setiawan's (2013) and Zentz's findings (2012) which point out that Javanese is now synonymous merely with an oral language because the written domain is occupied primarily by Indonesian.

3. How has Indonesian national language policy and planning impacted the maintenance of Javanese language?

Seventy years after the independence of Indonesia, it is evident that the national LPP has hindered the maintenance of Javanese language in particular. Although the government seems to support local languages through the establishment of official institutions to take care of local language maintenance and the issuance of regulations to address this issue, the government makes significantly less effort to promote local languages and provide little time allocated to teach local languages including Javanese in schools. As a result of the promotion of Indonesian in all domains and the action to eradicate illiteracy by disseminating Indonesian throughout the archipelago since the early 1970s have paramount roles in the diminishing socioeconomic value of all local languages in public and to some extent in private domains as well.

With respect to the Javanese language, this situation has triggered four problems which further exacerbate the vitality of Javanese, namely: interference in intergenerational language transmission, limited scope of Javanese use, decreased language competence, and ambivalent language attitudes. Interference in intergenerational language transmission is evident among the villagers and the elite, as indicated by the absence of a Javanese language policy within family homes. The

teachers, on the contrary, actively disseminate Javanese speech within home domains. Specifically for the pre-service teachers, they become agents of Javanese language transmission in their family and role models of Javanese speaking for their siblings. The fact that these pre-service teachers are the speakers of marginalized Javanese have motivated them to prove their Javanese identiy by speaking the standard variety of Javanese and at the same time spread this motivation to their immediate family. However, with their friends in their hometown or friends and others they meet in Yogyakarta, Nindya and Rahman choose their dialect to maintain their identity. The linguistic strategies selected by Nindya and Rahman clearly depict Gonzàlez's notion of centripetal and centrifugal forces (2001) which drive minority peoples to be part of the majority group while at the same time they exhibit their need to highligh their minority identity.

The scope of Javanese language use at the micro level has shrunk dramatically over the course of three generations. During the era of the first and the second generation for this study, Javanese was an important language at home, in the neighborhood and beyond; however, right now Javanese is only relevant at home. In Ripah village where the inhabitants are ethnically more heterogeneous, the use of Javanese in the neighborhood is limited whereas in Gemah village Javanes, especially *Ngoko*, is still relevant for casual daily talk but not in a formal setting like village meetings, where Indonesian is preferred. In schools, Javanese is also only relevant in Javanese language class but outside the class, the primary means of communication is Indonesian although in South school the students still use Javanese *Krama* and mix it with Indonesian when they speak to their teachers. The response to the first research question shows that in

general the scope of Javanese language use in Yogyakarta has shrunk so that it is now less relevant for literacy and wider communication.

Because of interference in intergenerational language transmission and the increasingly limited domains for Javanese language use, members of the younger generations now exhibit less competence in Javanese, especially Javanese *Krama,* with the exception of the pre-service teachers who display advanced competence in Javanese oral language because of their intensive exposure to Javanese in formal education. In addition, the villager participants expressed ambivalence with regard to their native language maintenance, lessening the vitality of Javanese language. Although they agreed that Javanese was important for their identity, they did not make serious efforts to maintain it on the grounds that Javanese cannot open doors for economic, educational, and social improvement.

Bayu, who represents the voice of the elite, also expressed a similar attitude in that he believed in the importance of the Javanese language for his Javanese identity but he never directly asked or supported his children in maintaining the Javanese language and culture. According to Bayu, the modern era requires him to respect freedom of choice, including freedom for his children to master Javanese or leave it behind. Thus, his responsibility is simply to give his children an example on how a Javanese should act. Whether his children will follow him or not it is up to them.

While almost everyone agreed that Javanese language brings less economic advantages in the modern era, Nindya and Rahman expressed a contradictory opinion in that they believed learning Javanese will take them to a better professional career than learning another field of studies. Both informed me of the high demand for Javanese

language teachers to teach in public schools in Central Java because the older generation teachers are about to retire. The problem is that regeneration of Javanese language teachers does not run smoothly because younger generations are not interested in pursuing this profession, resulting in a scarcity of a new generation of teachers to replace the soon-to-be retired ones. Furthermore, Javanese currently is taught not only in elementary and middle schools but also in high school. Therefore, this makes the demand for these teaching positions even higher, but the supply of teachers is still relatively low. Because of that, Nindya and Rahman see the position of a Javanese language teacher as an appealing future career.

4. What is the relationship, if any, between Javanese language shift and larger transformations in contemporary Javanese society?

This study found that changing language loyalties have been gradually in progress over the course of three generations. The inclination toward national, religious, and modern identities is an indication of the societal transformation. With regard to national identity, the Javanese people have prioritized Indonesian because it is the national language symbolizing shared nationhood and a *lingua franca* to connect people from different ethnic groups. In fact, when questioned about this, without any hesitation all participants' immediately responded that their most important language is Indonesian. This language is already embedded attitudinally and ideologically as the language which unites all Indonesian people in the archipelago.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that national identity outpowers ethnic identity for the sake of national unity, which is the paramount principle for every Indonesian. Despite its noble objective to strengthen national unity, this strong one

nation-one language ideology has harmed diversity in general and linguistic diversity in particular. Indeed, diversity to some extent is perceived as a threat which will potentially ruin the solid foundation of national unity. Because of this belief, maintaining diversity, including linguistic diversity, is viewed as a non-urgent need.

Interestingly, when the very core of their local identity is threatened, people will fight hard to protect their unique identity from slipping away. For example, when the Indonesian government questioned the special status of Yogyakarta and its local system to elect the Governor, the people of Yogyakarta organized politically to secure the special status for the common good. Likewise, when Javanese language was prone to be eliminated from the 2013 curriculum, the Javanese people expressed their strong reactions to counter the 2013 curriculum implementation. However, when the threat is not visible, nobody seems to care to act and many even deny that such a threat exists.

Societal transformation due to Islamisation is apparent in everyday life. This is reflected in the inclination toward religious identity such as positive attitudes to learn liturgic Arabic in order to understand the *Qur'an*, wearing modest clothes and covering their hair (for women), and generally leaving behind Javanese traditions not in line with Islam. Moreover, this study also shows that religion is seen as a panacea to heal social problems and moral degradation and as a guard to protect younger generations from the negative effects of modernity. This high expectation toward religion (Islam) is even reflected in teaching and learning activities in schools which contain strong religious messages as prescribed by the national and local curricula. All in all, the study's findings suggest that for the contemporary (Muslim) Javanese, religious identity is prioritized over

ethnic identity. This corroborates a previous study conducted by Smith-Hefner (2007) which revealed the inclination of the Javanese people toward the Islamic way of life.

Although the villager participants indicated that modernity brings negative effects, especially for young generation, the forces of modernity have driven them to keep up with it through the medium of English. All my participants agreed that to be able to compete with others in this era of globalization, competence in English is crucially needed even though nobody uses it as a medium of daily communication. Yet, English is one of the subjects which determines whether a student passes the national exam. In addition, English is always used in the selection process to recruit new employees in highly regarded institutions such as government offices, universities, national and multinational companies. Moreover, "it is embarassing to not know English" said one of my participants, Sadewa. Thus, to know English also has to do with prestige; that is, to be regarded as modern, educated, and elite.

The positive attitude toward English has made it the number one foreign language to learn not only in schools but also outside schools. This can be seen in Ripah village where one of its residents opened a private English tutoring center while the village itself is also near to two other English course institutions, one of which is an international affiliation. In addition, English is present in visual domains along with Indonesian and Arabic. The visual presence of English can be seen in schools, iconic areas, and places associated with higher social class. All in all, the Javanese perceive English as an avenue for participation in modern life, enabling them to achieve academic and professional success as well as higher social status.

Significance and Implications of the Study

There are four major implications from this study. First, this study points to the importance of analyzing language shift phenomena as barometers of wider social change. The findings of this study clearly show that the Javanese people have strong associations with a one nation concept (Indonesian language = national unity), religious identity (Arabic=Islam), and modernity (English). Since Javanese world view is influential and shapes Indonesia's national and political landscape (Errington, 1985), any changes within the Javanese society will arguably affect the shape of Indonesian society at large. As one of the most populous nations in Asia and one of the most influential Muslim countries in the world, this transformation must be seriously examined. The transformation of Javanese society in Indonesia in relation to shifting language ideologies and practices has been relatively understudied compared with other Javanese studies, for example, more purely linguistic studies of the Javanese language, examinations of Javanese traditional faith, or of Javanese music and dances. This study begins to fill a void in this understudied but vitally important area.

Second, this study contributes a critical analysis of the current national LPP which has placed 50 percent of the total number of local languages at risk by virtue of the breakdown of intergenerational language transmission (Fishman, 1991). In Indonesia there are 704 living languages and 13 considered extinct (Lewis et al., 2015). Of the living languages, 21 are institutional, 97 are developing, 248 are vigorous, 265 are "in trouble," and 75 are dying (Lewis et al., 2015).[9] Maintaining linguistic diversity is crucial

[9]1) "Living: The language exists. 2) Extinct: The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language. 3) Institutional: The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community. 4) Developing: The language

because each language is not only composed of a set of grammatical rules and a string of words but also cultural values which shape an individual's identity and influence social relationships (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Although the coexistence of the world's languages is part of UNESCO's declaration of linguistic rights, Indonesian language policy has created an environment which discourages local languages to thrive.

Third, this study revisits the common concept of indigeneity−namely colonial versus Indigenous−prescribed by many Western epistemologies when dealing with Indigenous language maintenance. This dichotomy is absent in the context of Indonesia because almost everyone is considered Indigenous. Thus, the marginalization of Javanese language must not be perceived simplistically, as the marginalization of the Indigenous versus the hegemony of the non-Indigenous people. Furthermore, this study has shown that the processes involved are more complex than a simple notion of the lock-step effect of marginalization, oppression or unequal treatments toward the Indigenous people by the majority non-Indigenous people. This study therefore contributes to the development of new frameworks in Indigenous language research.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of the insider's perspective in understanding micro, meso, and macro-level sociolinguistic and sociocultural processes. Previous prominent studies concerning the Javanese ethnic group have been conducted by outsiders (e.g. Berman, 1998; Drake, 1989; Errington, 1985, 1990, 1998; C.Geertz, 1960;

---

is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable. 5) Vigorous: The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable. 6) In Trouble: Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language. 7) Dying: The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language. "(Lewis et al., 2015, "Language Status")

H. Geertz, 1961; Siegel, 1986; Smith-Hefner, 1998, 2009; Sneddon, 2003; Zentz, 2012). While their studies are definitely important in understanding Javanese society, their works may be prone to incoherencies in understanding and interpreting the meaning of sociolinguistic phenomena in the lives of Javanese people. There is also potential bias due to expectations about an alien culture (Bernard, 2011). Recognizing that insider-outsider categories and status are always fluid and changing, as a researcher who grew up in this cultural and linguistic milieu and speaks the language, I am able to uniquely "hear" and present the voices of the Javanese people.

Geertz's study (1960) mentioned previously provides an example. Geertz's trichotomy of Javanese society is somewhat incorrect, although it is not entirely wrong. Koentjaraningrat (1963), a Javanese scholar, corrected Geertz's misunderstanding by pointing out that *Priyayi* was not a comparable category to the two religious traditions, syncretist *Abangan* and Muslim *Santri*. It is important to note that to this day Geertz's study is highly regarded since he could critically investigate the dichotomy of Javanese Muslim, *Abangan* and *Santri*, something that the insiders took for granted. However, as a Javanese *Priyayi* himself, Koentjaraningrat was able to give Geertz constructive feedback because he knew the cultural context. This shows that the primary advantage of insiders studying their own culture is that research can benefit from their cultural and linguistic competence (Bernard, 2011; Kuwayama, 2003). For instance, my proficiency in both Javanese and Indonesian and my common (ethnic) background with the participants were instrumental in affording easy acces and building rapport with the research participants.

Nevertheless, I am aware that being an insider also may have drawbacks associated with familiarity with the field. Unlike outsiders who "look at things with new

eyes" (Rabe, 2003, p. 157), insiders are typically more knowledgeable about the field than outsiders, which may lead them to take some phenomena for granted (Bernard, 2011). Because I was aware of this risk, I never saw my role as a complete insider during the course of this ethnographic study, recognizing that my role as a researcher was in fact equivalent to that of an outsider (De Andrade, 2000; Rabe, 2003). Furthermore, I tried to always consult to my participants' opinions, previous studies, and archival records in order to triangulate my findings. In short, I was both an insider and an outsider. In the end, I do not claim that my shared status with my participants makes my study more superior than research conducted by so-called outsiders. Instead, just like the role played by Koentjaraningrat (1963), I used my cultural competence to critically examine my own group in order to fill a gap in the existing research literature on Javanese language and society so that a more balanced perspective can be achieved.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research on Indigenous LPP in the context of Javanese should include minoritized Javanese dialects. Future research in this field should also examine the dynamic of seeing diversity as a benefit or a threat as a result of one language-one nation principle by applying the safety zone theoretical framework proposed by Lomawaima and McCarty (2006). Even though these two topics are instrumental, they are beyond the scope of my dissertation. Therefore, future studies investigating these topics are indeed worth conducting.

My encounters with two participants who speak a minoritized Javanese dialect provided rich data about a marginalized Javanese variety and its relation with its speakers' Javanese identity construction. Since this dissertation does not focus on the

identity of people in the so-called periphery, I did not discuss this topic deeply in this dissertation but I realize the importance of this topic to understand diversity within Javanese speech communities. It is evident from the findings I presented in chapter 5 that the standard Javanese has become an unofficial determinant of Javanese identity which led the two pre-service teachers to master it and to become change agents at home. A more thorough examination of this topic may reveal the pressure to be acknowledged as a "real" Javanese through the mastery of standard Javanese. Therefore, future research devoted to this issue will support the speakers of marginalized Javanese dialects in developing linguistic pride, countering the annhilation and marginalization of such dialects. Future research investigating this topic may also bring about positive pedagogical changes for Javanese language teaching in the regions where marginalized Javanese dialects are spoken. To this day, the Javanese speakers in these regions must learn a standard Javanese in school, a variety that they do not use outside the class, whereas their own dialect is muted. It is hoped that bringing up this issue will lead to the revision of Javanese language curriculum to meet the need of students from these speech communities.

Using safety zone theory (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006), future research might also investigate the implementation of Indonesian LPP in a region where a majority language is spoken, especially Javanese in Java, and a region where the locals speak a minority language, especially West Papua. The aim here would be to unravel the extent to which the one nation-one language principle affects language maintenance in the two distinct regions. Since the independence of Indonesia, the focus of LPP is always to strengthen the position of Indonesian as a symbol of a shared nationhood. However, the

central government has strikingly different political treatments in the two areas because separatist movement is absent in Javanese speaking regions while in Papua this issue is apparent. For example, Arka (2013) found that in Papua, people must be very cautious when they carry out language maintenance projects in order to not be miscategorized as a threat to national unity, while in Yogyakarta, I found that Javanese language maintenance is freely carried out in schools. Safety zone theory may help us understand the ideological mechanisms underlying perceptions of language practices deemed "dangerous" in one setting, yet "safe" in another. Although this topic is crucial to pursue, no research is dedicated to examine the LPP mechanism when dealing with discourses of "safety" and "threat." Thus, such research in these two distinct settings is worth carrying out.

REFERENCES

Adelaar, A. K. (2010). Language documentation in the west Austronesian world and Vanuatu: An overview. In M. Florey (Ed.), Endangered Languages of Austronesia (pp. 12-41). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Aksara Jawa. (n.d.). In *MGMP Bahasa Jawa SMK N 2 Klaten*. Retrieved from http://jawa-smkn2klt.blogspot.com/2014/05/apa-itu-aksara-jawa-aksara-jawa-yang.html on March 2d, 2015.

Alip, F. B. (1993). Social norms and variation in language choice: The case of English speaking-students in Java (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). State University of New York, Stony Brook, NY.

Alisjahbana, S. T. (1984). The problem of minority languages in the overall linguistic problems of our time. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Linguistic minorities and literacy: Language policy issues in developing countries* (pp. 77-98). Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

Alisjahbana, S. T. (1976). *Language planning for modernization: The case of Indonesian and Malaysian.* The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

Alisjahbana, S. T. (1974). Language policy, language engineering and literacy in Indonesia and Malaysia. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in language planning* (pp. 391-416). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

Alisjahbana, S. T. (1962). *Indonesian language and literature: Two essays (the modernization of the Indonesian language in practice and the development of the Indonesian language and literature).* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University.

Amri, A. B. & Galih, B. (2010, December 2). SBY: Pernyataan saya soal monarki digeser. *Vivanews*. Retrieved from http://politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/191795-sby--pernyataan-saya-soal-monarki-digeser on January 7th, 2013.

Anderbeck, K. (2013). Portraits of Indonesian language vitality. Pacific Linguistics ICAL 2012 Proceedings volume 2, *Language documentation and cultural practices in the Austronesian world*.

Anderson, B. R. (2006). *Language and power: Exploring political cultures in Indonesia.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Anderson, M. (1999). Children in-between: Constructing identities in the bicultural family. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5(1), 13-23. DOI:

10.2307/2660960.

Anwar, K. (1980). *Indonesian: The development and use of a national language*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Apple, R. & Muysken, P. (1987). *Language-Contact and Bilingualism*. London, UK: Arnold.

Arka, I. W. (2013). Language management and minority language maintenance in (eastern) Indonesia: strategic issues. *Language Documentation and Conservation*, *7*, 74-105.

Attamami, M. & Pranyoto, V. S. (2011, March 12). Keistimewaan Yogyakarta untuk rakyat. *ANTARANEWS.com*. Retrieved from http://www.antaranews.com/berita/249596/keistimewaan-yogyakarta-untuk-rakyat on February 2nd, 2013.

Badan Pengawasan Keuangan dan Pembangunan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta [BPKP DIY]. (n.d). Sejarah keistimewaan Yogyakarta. Retrieved from http://www.bpkp.go.id/diy/konten/815/Sejarah-Keistimewaan-Yogyakarta on January 7th, 2010.

Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa 'The National Language Board for Language Development and Cultivation'. (n.d.). Bahasa Indonesia Bagi Penutur Asing. Retrieved from http://badanbahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/bipa/v2/ on January 20th, 2015.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bambang. (2010, December 17). Pasal-pasal polemik dalam RUU Keistimewaan Yogyakarta. *ANTARANEWS.com.* Retrieved from http://www.antaranews.com/berita/238303/pasal-pasal-polemik-dalam-ruu-keistimewaan-yogyakarta on January 7th, 2013.

Berman, L. (1998). *Speaking through the silence: Narratives, social conventions, and power in Java.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bernard, H. R. (2011). *Research method in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Plymouth, United Kingdom: Altamira Press.

Biro Pusat Statistik. (2010). *Jumlah dan distribusi penduduk*. Retrieved from http://sp2010.bps.go.id/ on March 10th, 2013.

Bitar, S. (2011). Language, identity, and Arab nationalism: Case study of Palestine. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, *5*(4), 48-64.

Blot, R. K. (2003). *Language and social identity*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Boomfield, L. (1st ed.). (1933). *Language*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *Language and symbolic power*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Brewer, J. Y. (2003). *Language loss in Korean-American biracial/bicultural military families*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, *33*(5), 503–523. DOI:10.1093/applin/ams056.

Butt, S. (2013). Indonesian Constitutional Court decisions in regional head electoral disputes. *Centre for Democratic Institutions*. Retrieved from www.cdi.anu.edu.au on March 1st, 2013.

Castonguay, C. (1982). Intermarriage and language shift in Canada, 1971 and 1976. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 7(3), 263 -77. DOI: 10.2307/3340390.

Cavanaugh, J. R. (2006). Little women and vital champions: Gendered language shift in a northern Italian town. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *16*(2), 194-210. DOI: 10.1525/jlin.2006.16.2.194

Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). *The world factbook: Indonesia*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html on March 10th, 2013.

Chandra, K. (Ed.). (2012). *Constructivist theories of ethnic politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Clarke, S. (2008). Culture and identity. In T. Bennett & J. Frow (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of cultural analysis* (pp. 510-529). London, UK: Sage Publications, Inc.

Cobo, J. R. M. (1986). *Study of the problem discrimination against Indigenous populations*. New York, NY: United Nations Printing Office. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/MCS_v_en.pdf on July 15th, 2015.

Cooper, R.L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Corntassel, J. J. (2003). Who is Indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and ethnonationalist approaches to rearticulating Indigenous identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *9*(1), 75-100.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dardjowidjojo, S. (1998). Strategies for a successful national language policy: The Indonesian case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *130*(1). DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1998.130.35.

DeAndrade, L. (2000). Negotiating from the inside: Constructing racial and ethnic identity in qualitative research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *29*, 268-290.

Detiknews. (2011, February 1). *PKB setuju Gubernur DIY ditetapkan*. Retrieved from http://news.detik.com/berita/1558319/pkb-setuju-gubernur-diy-ditetapkan on January 7th, 2013.

Detiknews. (2010a, November 30). *Jika RUU DIY tak juga disahkan, Sultan sebagai gubernur diperpanjang lagi.* Retrieved from http://news.detik.com/berita/1505936/jika-ruu-diy-tak-juga-disahkan-sultan-sebagai-gubernur-diperpanjang-lagi on January 7th, 2013.

Detiknews. (2010b, November 27). Pernyataan SBY isyaratkan Gubernur DIY dipilih langsung. Retrieved from http://news.detik.com/berita/1503718/pernyataan-sby-isyaratkan-gubernur-diy-dipilih-langsung on January 7th, 2013.

Dinas Kesehatan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. (2013). *Profil kesehatan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Dinas Kesehatan.

Dinas Pendidikan, Pemuda, dan Olah Raga Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. (2009). *Sejarah singkat provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*. Retrieved from http://www.pendidikan-diy.go.id/dinas_v4/?view=baca_isi_lengkap&id_p=1 on February 2nd, 2013.

Drake, C. (1989). *National integration in Indonesia: Patterns and policies*. Honolulu: Hawaii Press.

Dua formasi kosong pelamar. (2009, November 12). *Suara Merdeka*. Retrieved from http://suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/cetak/2009/11/12/87713/Dua-Formasi-Kosong-Pelamar on July 15th, 2014.

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ekowati, V. I. (2007, August). *Refleksi pembelajaran Bahasa Jawa sebagai muatan lokal wajib di SMA/SMK/MA.* A paper presented at KTSP, method, and evaluation workshop for Javanese language learning, Gunungkidul, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Ellis, A. (2012). The cycle of electoral manipulation and its links to electoral justice systems. Paper presented at *Challenges to Electoral Integrity Pre-IPSA Workshop*, Madrid, Spain.

Elmhirst, R. (2000). A Javanese diaspora? Gender and identity politics in Indonesia's transmigration resettlement program. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *23*(4), 487-500. DOI: 10.1016/S0277-5395(00)00108-4.

Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia. (n.d.). *Indonesia: Facts and figures*. Retrieved from http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/wordpress/?page_id=494 on March 10th, 2013.

Errington, J.J. (1985). *Language and social change in Java*. Ohio: The Center for International Studies Ohio University.

Errington, J. J. (1991). A muddle for the model: Diglossia and the case of Javanese. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* (Special issue on diglossia), *10*(1), 189-213.

Errington, J.J. (1998). *Shifting languages: Interaction and identity in Javanese Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fauzi, A. A. (2011, September 12). *Bahasa Indonesia dalam komunitas masyarakat ASEAN*. *Berkarya*. Retrieved from http://berkarya.um.ac.id/2011/09/bahasa-indonesia-dalam-komunitas-masyarakat-asean/ on January 4th, 2015.

Fearnside, P. M. (1997). Transmigration in Indonesia: Lessons from its environmental and social impacts. *Environmental Management*, *21*(4), 553-570.

Fetterman, D. M. (1998). *Ethnography step by step.* London, UK: Sage Publications.

Fishman, J. A. (2010). Sociolinguistics: Language and ethnic identity in context. In J. A. Fishman & O. García (Eds.), *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity, Vol. 1: Disciplinary and Regional Perspectives* (pp. xxiii-xliv). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (1971). *Bilingualism in the barrio*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics*, *9*, 32-70.

Florey, M. & Bolton, R. A. (1997). Personal names, lexical replacement, and language shift in eastern Indonesia. *Cakalele*, 8, 27-58.

Foulcher, K. (2000). Sumpah Pemuda: The making and meaning of a symbol of Indonesian nationhood. *Asian Studies Review*, *24*(3), 377-410.

Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual* Austria. New York, NY: Academic Press.

García, O. (2010). Languaging and ethnifying. In J. A. Fishman & O. García, *Handbook of language and ethnic identity: The success-failure continuum in language and ethnic identity efforts* (pp. 519-534). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Geertz, C. (1960). *The religion of Java.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

.

Geertz, H. (1961). *The Javanese family: A study of kinship and socialization.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Giles, H. (1977). *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations.* London, UK: Academic Press.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity, and intergroup relations* (pp. 307-348). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Goffman, E. (1969) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London, UK: Penguin.

Gonzalez, N. (2001). *I am my language: Discourses of women and children in the borderlands.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist*, *66*(6/2), 137–153.

Harlow, L.L. (1990). Do they mean what they say?: Sociopragmatic competence and second language learners. *The Modern Language Journal*, 74, 328-351.

Haugen, E. (1959). Planning for a standard language in modern Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics*, *1*(3), 8–21.

Haugen, E. (1965). *Bilingualism in the Americas*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Higgins, C. (2003). "Ownership" of English in the outer circle: An alternative to the NS-NNS dichotomy. *TESOL Quarterly*, 37 (4), 615-644.

Himmelmann, N. P. (2010). Language endangerment scenarios: a case study from northern Central Sulawesi. In M. J. Florey (Ed.). *Endangered languages of Austronesia* (pp. 45-72). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hoffmann, C. (1991). *Introduction to bilingualism*. New York, NY: Longman Group Ltd.

Holmes, J. (2001). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman.

Holmes, J. (1993). Immigrant women and language maintenance in Australia and New Zealand. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *3*(2), 159-179. DOI: 10.1111/j.1473-4192.1993.tb00048.x.

Hornberger, N. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 24-41). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Hornberger, N.H. & Ricento, T. (Eds.). (1996). Unpeeling the Onion: Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, *30*(3), 401-427. DOI: 10.2307/3587691.

Humas UGM. (2007, May 11). Rumusan hasil sarasehan format keistimewaan Yogyakarta. Retrieved from http://ugm.ac.id/en/berita/1460-rumusan.hasil.sarasehan.format.keistimewaan.yogyakarta on February 2nd, 2013.

Indrayani, L. M. (2011). *Language vitality: A case on Sundanese language as a surviving indigenous language.* Paper presented at International Seminar Language Maintenance and Shift, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia.

International Labor Organization. (1989). *Indigenous and tribal peoples convention* (No. 169). Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C169 in July 15th, 2015.

Jackson, R. L., II, & Hogg, M. A. (Eds.). (2010). Encyclopedia of identity. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/97814129799306

Jaspal, R. & Coyle, A. (2010). "Arabic is the language of the Muslims – that's how it was supposed to be": Exploring language and religious identity through reflective accounts from young British-born South Asians. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 13 (1), 17–36. DOI: 10.1080/13674670903127205.

Jones, S. R. J. & McEwen, M. K. (2000). A conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity. *Journal of College Student Development, 41*(4), 405-414. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.458.8533&rep=rep1&type=pdf on June 15th, 2013.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kaplan, R.B. & Baldauf, R.B. Jr. (2003). *Language-in-education planning in the Pacific Basin*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer.

Katubi, O. (2007). Lampungic languages: Looking for new evidence of language shift in Lampung and the question of its reversal. *Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures*, *16*, 1–10.

Kawai'ae'a, K. K. C., Housman, A.K., & Alencastre, M. (2007). Pū'ā i ka 'ōlelo, ola ka 'ohana: Three generations of Hawaiian language revitalization. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being, 4*, 183–238.

Kentjono, D. (1986). Indonesian experiences in language development. In E. Annamalai, Bjorn H. Jernudd, & Joan Rubin (Eds.), *Language planning: Proceedings of an institute* (pp. 279-308). Mysore, India: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

King, K. A. (2001). *Language revitalization process and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kingsbury, B. Indigenous peoples in international law: A constructivist approach to the Asian controversy. *The American Journal of International Law*, 92 (3), 413-457.

Kloss, H. (1966). German-American language maintenance efforts. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups* (pp. 206-252). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

Koentjaraningrat, R. M. (1963). Book review: Clifford Geertz's the religion of Java [Review of the book The Religion of Java by C. Geertz]. *Majalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia, 1*(2), 188-191.

Koentjaraningrat, R. M. (1984). *Kebudayaan Jawa.* Jakarta, Indonesia: Balai Pustaka.

Koran SINDO. (2012, August 28). *Sultan Yogyakarta dilarang gabung partai politik*. Retrieved from http://nasional.sindonews.com/read/667846/12/sultan-yogyakarta-dilarang-gabung-partai-politik-1346104943/1on January 7th, 2013.

Kotkin, J. & Cox, W. (2013, April 8). The world's fastest-growing megacities. *Forbes*. Retrieved from http://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2013/04/08/the-worlds-fastest-growing-megacities/ on February 5, 2014.

Kurniasih, Y. K. (2006). Gender, class and language preference: A case study in Yogyakarta. In Allan, K. (Ed.). *Selected papers from the 2005 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society.* Retrieved from http: //www.als.asn.au on November 10th, 2014.

Kurniawan, M. N. (2009, March 22). Indonesia [sic] language remains important at top US universities. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/03/22/indonesia-language-remains-important-top-us-universities.html on January 4th, 2015.

Kusuma, W. (2013, January 15). Jangan hapus bahasa daerah dari kurikulum. *Kompasiana.* Retrieved from http://ramadhan.kompas.com/read/2013/01/15/14510369/Jangan.Hapus.Bahasa.Daerah.dari.Kurikulum on December 3rd, 2013.

Kuwayama, T. (2003). 'Natives' as dialogic partners: Some thoughts on Native Anthropology. *Anthropology Today*, *19*(1), 8-13.

Latief, M. (2013, October 23). BIPA, tingkatkan fungsi Bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa internasional. *Kompas*. Retrieved from http://edukasi.kompas.com/read/2013/10/23/1253102/BIPA.Tingkatkan.Fungsi.Bahasa.Indonesia.Menjadi.Bahasa.Internasional on January 4th, 2015.

Lay, C., Pratikno, Dwipayana, A., Santoso, P., Haryanto, Mas'udi, W., ...Sandi, A. (2008). *Keistimewaan Yogyakarta: Naskah akademik dan rancangan undang-undang keistimewaan Yogyakarta.* Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Program S2 Politik Lokal dan Otonomi Daerah Universitas Gadjah Mada. Retrieved from http://ir.nmu.org.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/132496/66e798a69e980031fb827c29d1e1fe8a.pdf?sequence=1 on February 18th, 2013.

Le Page, R.B. & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, M., Paul, G. F. S, & Fennig, C. D. (Eds). (2015). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (18th ed.). Dallas, TX: SIL International. Retrieved from https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/08/ on July 2nd, 2015.

Liebler, C. A. (1996). *American Indian ethnic identity: An analysis of tribal specification in the 1990 census.* Paper presented at the the American Sociological Association meetings, New York, NY.

Liputan 6. (2010, December 3). *Masyarakat Yogyakarta kecewa pidato presiden SBY*. Retrieved from http://news.liputan6.com/read/309629/masyarakat-yogyakarta-kecewa-pidato-presiden-sby# on January 7th, 2013.

Liu, E. (1998). *The accidental Asian*. New York, NY: Random House, Inc.

Lomawaima, K. T. & McCarty, T. L. (2006). "*To remain an Indian": Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Lowenberg, P. H. (1994). The forms and functions of English as an additional language: The case of Indonesia. In A. Hassan (Ed.), *Language planning in Southeast Asia* (pp. 230-252). Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Ministry of Education.

Macnamara, J. (1969). How can one measure the extent of a person's bilingual proficiency? In L. Kelly (Ed.), *Description and measurement of bilingualism: An international seminar*, University of Moncton, June 6-14, 1967 (pp. 80-97). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Maharani, S. (2014, December 22). Hari Ibu 22 Desember, pidato putri Solo memukau. *Tempo*. Retrieved from http://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2014/12/22/173630104/hari-ibu-22-desember-pidato-putri-solo-memukau on January 30th, 2015.

Mardani. (2013, January 26). Kebaikan Sultan HB IX saat ibukota pindah ke Yogyakarta. *merdeka.com.* Retrieved from http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kebaikan-sultan-hb-ix-saat-ibu-kota-pindah-ke-yogyakarta.html on February 1st, 2013.

Martin, N. (2009). *Arab American parents' attitudes toward their children's heritage language maintenance and language practices* (Unpublished master thesis). The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Martinez-Bravo, M. (2013). The role of local officials in new democracies: Evidence from Indonesia. *CEMFI Working Paper 1302*. CEMFI: Madrid, Spain.

McCarty, T. L. (2013). *Language planning and policy in Native America: History, theory, praxis.* Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.

McCarty, T. L. (2011). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York, NY: Routledge.

McCarty, T. L. (2003). Revitalising Indigenous languages in homogenising times. *Comparative Education*, *39*(2), 147-163.

Medicine, B. (1987). The role of American Indian women in cultural continuity and transition. In J. Penfield (Ed.), *Women and language in transition* (pp. 159-166). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Messing, J. H. E. (2009). Ambivalence and ideology among Mexicano youth in Tlaxcala, Mexico. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 8*, 350–364. DOI: 10.1080/15348450903307680

Millie, J. (2012). The languages of preaching: Code selection in Sundanese Islamic oratory, West Java. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 23, 379–397. DOI:10.1111/taja.12006.

Moedjanto, G. (1986). *The concept of power in Javanese culture*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Moeliono, A. M. (1994). Indonesian language development and cultivation. In A. Hassan (Ed.), *Language planning in Southeast Asia* (pp. 195-213). Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Ministry of Education.

Moeliono, A.M. (1993). The first efforts to promote and develop Indonesian. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *The earliest stage of language planning: The "first congress" phenomenon* (pp. 129-142). New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Moeliono, A. M. (1986). Language development and cultivation: Alternative approaches in language planning. *Pacific Linguistics*. Canberra, Australia: Australian National University.

Mukherjee, D. (2003). Role of women in language maintenance and language shift: focus on the Bengali community in Malaysia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 161, 103-120.*

Musgrave, Simon. (in print). Language shift and language maintenance in Indonesia. In P.Sercombe & R.Fernandez (Eds.), *Language, education and nation-building: Assimilation and shift in Southeast Asia*. London, UK: Palgrave.

Musgrave, S. & Ewing, M. C. (2006). Language and religion: A case study two Ambonese communities. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*,

179, 179-194. DOI 10.1515/IJSL.2006.034.

Nababan, P. W. J. (1991). Language in education: The case of Indonesia. *International Review of Education*, *37*(1), 115-131.

Nämähoe, L. & Barcarse, K. (2007). 'Aha Pünana Leo. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, *31*(2), 44-47.

Neergaard , H. and Ulhøi , J. P. (2007). *Handbook of qualitative research methods in entrepreneurship.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Nicholas, S. E. (2009). "I live Hopi, I just don't speak it"—The critical intersection of language, culture, and identity in the lives of contemporary Hopi youth. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 8, 321–334. DOI: 10.1080/15348450903305114.

Nothofer, B. (2009). Javanese. In Brown, K & Ogilvie, S. (Eds), *Concise encyclopaedia of languages of the world* (pp. 560-561). New York, NY: Elsevier.

Nugroho, Y. W. (2010, September 30). Mengapa Yogyakarta Daerah Istimewa. *Vivanews.* Retrieved from http://nasional.news.viva.co.id/news/read/180314-mengapa-yogyakarta-disebut-istimewa on January 7th, 2013.

Oetomo, D. (1990) The *Indonesian* of the middle class. *Prisma*, *50,* 68–79.

Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Paauw, S. (2009). One land, one nation, one language: An analysis of Indonesia's national language policy. In H. Lehnert-LeHouillier & A.B. Fine (Eds.), *University of Rochester Working Papers in the Language Sciences*, 5(1), 2-16. in the Language Sciences, *5*(1), 2-16.

Panggabean, V. A. (2013, May 4). Nasib guru bahasa daerah terancam akibat Kurikulum 2013. *Merdeka*. Retrieved from http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/nasib-guru-bahasa-daerah-terancam-akibat-kurikulum-2013.html on June 2nd, 2013.

Paugh, A. L. (2005). Multilingual play: Children's code-switching, role play, and agency in Dominica, West Indies. *Language in Society*, *34*, 63-86. DOI: 10.10170S0047404505050037.

Pennycook, A. (2006). The myth of English as an international language. In *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Poedjosoedarmo, G. (2006). The effect of Bahasa Indonesia as a lingua franca on the

Javanese system of levels and their functions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *177*, 111-121.

Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1968). Javanese speech levels. *Indonesia*, *6*, 54–81.

Poedjowardojo, S. & Hadidjaja, T. (Eds.). (1958). *Petikan Mantja Warna*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Penerbir Ganaco N. V.

Pratikno. (2012, October 22). *Yogyakarta*. Speech presented at Culture Week Event for the anniversary of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Priyayi. (n.d.). In *Encyclopaedia Britannica online*. Retrieved from http://www.britannica.com/topic/priyayi on November 10th, 2014.

Puji, S. T. (2010a, December 5). *Keistimewaan DIY diakui UUD 1945*. Retrieved from http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/breaking-news/nasional/10/12/05/150683-keistimewaan-diy-diakui-uud-1945 on January 7th, 2013.

Puji, S. T. (2010b, December 3). *Menko Polhukam: Sultan orang nomor satu, tapi gubernur tetap dipilih*. Retrieved from http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/breaking-news/nasional/10/12/03/150347-menko-polhukam-sultan-orang-nomor-satu-tapi-gubernur-tetap-dipilih on January 7th, 2013.

Rabe, M. (2003). Revisiting 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social researchers. *African Sociological Review*, *7*(2), 149-161.

Rachman, T. (2010, December 1). Sultan enggan komentari wacana monarki. *Republika Online.* Retrieved from http://www.republika.co.id/berita/breaking-news/nusantara/10/12/01/149821-sultan-enggan-komentari-wacana-monarki on January 7th, 2013.

Ravindranath, M. & Cohn, A. C. (2014). Can a language with millions of speakers be endangered? *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, *7*, 64-75. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1885/11968 on January 12th, 2015.

Renandya, W. A. (2000). Indonesia. In H. W. Kam & R. Y. L. Wong (Eds.), *Language policies and language education* (pp. 113-137). Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Ricento, T. (2006). Introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *4*(2), 196-213.

Ricento, T. & Hornberger, N. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, *30*(3), 401-428.

Riessman, C. K. (2008**).** *Narrative methods for the human sciences.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Riley, P. (2007). *Language, culture, and identity.* New York, NY: Continuum.

Romaine, S. (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Romero-Little, M. E. (2010). How should young Indigenous children be prepared for learning?: A vision of early childhood education for Indigenous children. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *49*(1 & 2), 1-25.

Rubin, J. (1977). Language standardization in Indonesia. In J. Rubin, B. H. Jernudd, J. D. Gupta, J. A. Fishman, & C. A. Ferguson (Eds.), *Language planning processes* (pp. 157-179). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton Publishers.

Safri, R. (2012, October 9). PKL Malioboro libur. *ANTARANEWS.com*. Retrieved from http://www.antaranews.com/berita/337708/pkl-malioboro-libur on January 7th, 2013.

Saifullah, M. (2010, December 6). Wacana penundaan pengesahaan RUUK DIY ditolak. *Okezone*. Retrieved from http://news.okezone.com/read/2010/12/06/337/400405/wacana-penundaan-pengesahan-ruuk-diy-ditolak on January 7th, 2013.

Sasangka, S. T. W. (2004). *Unggah-ungguh Bahasa Jawa*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Yayasan Paralingua.

Schecter, S. R. & Bayley, R. (1997). Language socialization practices and cultural identity: Case studies of Mexican-descent families in California and Texas. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3*),* 513-541. DOI: 10.2307/3587836.

Scollon, R. & Scollon, S. B. K. (1981). Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication. *TESOL Quarterly*, *18*(3), 519-523. DOI: 10.2307/3586719.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Seidman, I. (2000). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Setiawan, S. (2013). *Children's language in a bilingual community in East Java* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia, Australia.

Setiawan, S. (2001). *Language shift in a bilingual community: The case of Javanese in Surabaya, East Java* (Unpublished master thesis). The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Shaw, P. A. (2001). Language and identity, language and the land. *BC Studies, 131*, 39-55.

Siegel, J. T. (1986). *Solo in the New Order: Language and hierarchy in an Indonesian city*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sinung. (2006). *Data korban gempa tektonik DIY. Jakarta, Indonesia: Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://www.kemsos.go.id/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=213 on February 5th, 2013.

Smith-Hefner, N. J. (2009). Language shift, gender, and ideologies of modernity in Central Java, Indonesia. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 19*(1), 57-77. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-1395.2009.01019.x.

Smith-Hefner, N. J. (2007). Javanese women and the veil in post-Soeharto Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Studies, 66*(2), 389-420. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/20203163 on July 3rd, 2013.

Smith-Hefner, N. J. (1988). The linguistic socialization of Javanese children in two communities. *Anthropological Linguistics, 30*(2), 166-198. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/30027978 on July 3rd, 2013.

Sneddon, J. (2003). *The Indonesian language: its history and role in modern society*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Someya, Y. (1992). Linguistics development in Java. *Senri Ethnological Studies, 34*, 49-64.

Spolsky, B. (1988). Bridging the gap: A general theory of second language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*(3), 377-396.

Steinhauer, H. (1994). The Indonesian language situation and linguistics: Prospects and possibilities. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en Volkenkunde, 150*(4), 755–783.

Stevens, G. (1985). "Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift." *American Sociological Review, 50*(1), 74-83.

Sudaryanto. (1991). *Tata bahasa baku Bahasa Jawa*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Duta Wacana University Press.

Suharsono. (1995). *Attitudes of young Javanese towards their native language* (unpublished master thesis). Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia, Australia.

Sujatmiko, T. (2013, September 24). Bahasa Daerah masuk kurikulum pendidikan di Jateng. *Kedaulatan Rakyat Online*. Retrieved from http://krjogja.com/read/188239/bahasa-daerah-masuk-kurikulum-pendidikan-di-jateng.kr on December 3rd, 2013.

Supriyoko (1986). *Kado kecil untuk Kedaulatan Rakyat: Kontribusi mencipta masyarakat informasi.* Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Journal AMIKOM.

Suryadinata, L. (2005). *Pribumi Indonesians, the Chinese minority and China*. New York, NY: Marshall Cavendish.

Suyitno, Y.P. (2013). *Sumbangsih pembelajaran Bahasa Jawa terhadap pendidikan karakter dalam implementasi Kurikulum 2013*. Paper presented at National Seminar on Character Development and Implementation of 2013 Curriculum. Jakarta, Indonesia.

Sutherland, H. (1975). The Priyayi. *Indonesia*, *19*, 57-77. Retrieved from http://cip.cornell.edu/seap.indo/1107132162 on November 10th, 2014.

Tanner, N. (1972). Speech and society among the Indonesian elite: A case study of a multilingual community. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 125–141). New York, NY: Penguin.

Thornborrow, J. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Mooney, L. Thomas, S. Wareing, I. Singh, J. S. Peccel, J. Thornborrow, & J. Jones (Eds.). *Language, Society and Power*: *An Introduction* (2nd ed.) (pp. 56-73). London, UK: Routledge.

Tuominen, A. (1999). Who decides the home language? A look at multilingual families. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 140*(1), Pages 59–76. DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1999.140.59.

UNESCO. *Universal declaration on linguistic rights*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/linguistic.pdf on February 20th, 2013.

United Nations. (2012). *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Indonesia* (Addendum). New York, NY: United Nations Printng Office.

Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia 1945, Pasal 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40.

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 24 Tahun 2009 tentang Bendera, Bahasa, dan Lambang Negara serta Lagu Kebangsaan.

Urciuoli, B. (1995). Language and borders. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 525-546. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.002521

Walsh, M. (2002). Language ownership: A key issue for Native title. In J. Henderson & D. Nash (Eds.), *Language in Native title* (pp. 230-244). Canberra, Australia: Native Title Research Series, Aboriginal Studies Press.

Wang, J. (2002). Religious identity and ethnic language: Correlations between shifting Chinese Canadian religious affiliation and mother tongue retention, 1931-1961. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 34*(2), 63-78.

Wardhana, H. (2010, June 5). Keberatan dengan gelar Sultan Yogyakarta, Mendagri usil. *Kompasiana*. Retrieved from http://www.kompasiana.com/wardhanahendra/keberatan-dengan-gelar-sultan-yogyakarta-mendagri-usil_5528c3fc6ea834103f8b456f on August 1st, 2013.

Wardopo, K. (2010, December 16). RI harus terima keistimewaan Yogyakarta. *Suara Merdeka.* Retrieved from http://suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/layar/2010/12/16/734/RI-Harus-Terima-Keistimewaan-Yogyakarta on January 7th, 2013.

Wibawa, S. (2011, December). *Mengukuhkan pembelajaran bahasa, sastra, dan budaya daerah sebagai muatan lokal*. Paper presented at the International Conference of Local Cultures III, Sukoharjo, Central Java, Indonesia.

Wicaksono, P. (2012, October 10). Presiden SBY beri sambutan dalam pelantikan Sultan. *Tempo*. Retrieved from http://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2012/10/10/058434800/presiden-sby-beri-sambutan-dalam-pelantikan-sultan on January 7th, 2013.

Wodak, R. (Ed.). (2013). Critical discourse analysis. London, UK: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Wolff, J. U. & Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1982). Communicative codes in Central Java. *Linguistic Series VIII, Data Paper no. 116.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.

Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 6,* 323-346.

World Bank. (2003). *Implementation of operational directive 4.20 on Indigenous peoples: An independent desk review* (Report No. 25332). Washington, DC: The World Bank Printing Office.

Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to*

globalisation. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yuliningsih & Puji, S. T. (2011, January 4). UGM gelar peringatan pindahnya ibukota NKRI ke Yogyakarta 66 tahun lalu. *Republika Online.* Retrieved from http://www.republika.co.id/berita/breaking-news/nasional/11/01/04/156097-ugm-gelar-peringatan-pindahnya-ibukota-nkri-ke-yogyakarta-66-tahun-lalu on February 1st, 2013.

Zentella, A. C. (1987). Language and female identity in the Puerto Rican community. In J. Penfield (Ed.), *Women and language in transition* (pp. 167-179). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Zentz, L. (2012). *Global languages identities and ideologies in an Indonesian university context* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Teresa Mccarty ED 144E
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	07/24/2012
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	07/24/2012
IRB Protocol #:	1207007985
Study Title:	RE-CLAIMING THE IDENTITY AS A JAVANESE: INTERGENERATIONAL VOICES FROM THE CENTER OF JAVANESE CULTURE

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

APPENDIX B

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 24 Tahun 2009

THE DECREE OF REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA NUMBER 24 YEAR 2009[10]

[10] The English translation of this decree is cited from Zentz (2012, pp. 62-65).

Pasal 35

(1) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan dalam penulisan karya ilmiah dan publikasi karya ilmiah di Indonesia

(2) Penulisan dan publikasi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) untuk tujuan atau bidang kajian khusus dapat menggunakan bahasa daerah atau bahasa asing.

Article 35

(1) The Indonesian language shall be used in the writing of scientific papers and scientific publications in Indonesia.

(2) Writings and publications for the purpose of specialized areas of study, as referred to in paragraph (1), may use local languages or foreign languages.

Pasal 36

(1) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan dalam nama geografi di Indonesia.

(2) Nama geografi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) hanya memiliki 1 (satu) nama resmi.

(3) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan untuk nama bangunan atau gedung, jalan, apartemen atau permukiman, perkantoran, kompleks perdagangan, merek dagang, lembaga usaha, lembaga pendidikan, organisasi yang didirikan atau dimiliki oleh warga negara Indonesia atau badan hukum Indonesia.

(4) Penamaan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dan ayat (3) dapatmenggunakan bahasa daerah atau bahasa asing apabila memiliki nilai sejarah, budaya, adat istiadat, dan/atau keagamaan.

Article 36

(1) The Indonesian language shall be used for geographic names in Indonesia.

(2) The geographic names as referred to in paragraph (1) only have one official name.

(3) The Indonesian language shall be used to name buildings or building premises, streets, apartments or housing complexes, offices, commercial complexes, trademarks, business institutions, educational institutions, and institutions founded or owned by Indonesian citizens or Indonesian legal entities.

(4) The naming as referred to in paragraph (1) and paragraph (3) may use localor foreign languages where they are of historical, cultural, customary, and/or religious value.

Pasal 37

(1) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan dalam informasi tentang produk barang atau jasa produksi dalam negeri atau luar negeri yang beredar di Indonesia.

(2) Informasi sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat dilengkapi dengan bahasa daerah atau bahasa asing sesuai dengan keperluan.

Article 37

(1) The Indonesian language shall be used in information about goods or the production of goods domestic or foreign circulating in Indonesia.

(2) The information referred to in paragraph (1) may be supplemented with local or foreign languages as necessary.

Pasal 38

(1) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan dalam rambu umum, penunjuk jalan, fasilitas umum, spanduk, dan alat informasi lain yang merupakan pelayanan umum.

(2) Penggunaan Bahasa Indonesia sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat disertai bahasa daerah dan/atau bahasa asing.

Article 38

(1) The Indonesian language shall be used for public signs, street signs, public facilities, banners, and other information tools considered to be public services.

(2) The use of Indonesian as referred to in paragraph (1) may be accompanied by local or foreign languages.

Pasal 39

(1) Bahasa Indonesia wajib digunakan dalam informasi melalui media massa.

(2) Media massa sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dapat menggunakan bahasa daerah atau bahasa asing yang mempunyai tujuan khusus atau sasaran khusus.

Article 39

(1) The Indonesian language shall be used in information distributed via mass media.

(2) Mass media as referred to in paragraph (1) may use local or foreign languages for special purposes or objectives.

Pasal 40

Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai penggunaan Bahasa Indonesia sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 26 sampai dengan Pasal 39 diatur dalam Peraturan Presiden.

Article 40

More precise provisions for the use of Indonesian language referred to in article 26 through 39 shall be stipulated by Presidential Regulations.

Bagian Ketiga

Pengembangan, Pembinaan, dan Pelindungan Bahasa Indonesia

Third Part

Development, Enhancement, and Protection of the Indonesian Language

Pasal 41

(1) Pemerintah wajib mengembangkan, membina, dan melindungi bahasa dan sastra Indonesia agar tetap memenuhi kedudukan dan fungsinya dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat, berbangsa, dan bernegara, sesuai dengan perkembangan zaman.

(2) Pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan secara bertahap, sistematis, dan berkelanjutan oleh lembaga kebahasaan.

(3) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah.

Article 41

(1) The government shall develop, enhance, and protect Indonesian language and literatures so that they may continue to fulfill their social positions and functions in life.

(2)The development, enhancement, and protection as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be performed gradually, systematically, and sustainably by language institutions.

(3) More precise provisions for the development, enhancement, and protection referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

Pasal 42

(1) Pemerintah daerah wajib mengembangkan, membina, dan melindungi bahasa dan sastra daerah agar tetap memenuhi kedudukan dan fungsinya dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat sesuai dengan perkembangan zaman dan agar tetap menjadi bagian dari kekayaan budaya Indonesia.

(2) Pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dilakukan secara bertahap, sistematis, dan berkelanjutan oleh pemerintah daerah di bawah koordinasi lembaga kebahasaan.

(3) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai pengembangan, pembinaan, dan pelindungan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah.

Article 42

(1) Local governments shall develop, enhance, and protect local languages and literatures so that they may continue to fulfill their social positions and functions in community life according to the development of the era and in order to maintain its place within Indonesia’s cultural richness.

(2) The development, enhancement, and protection as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be performed gradually, systematically, and sustainably by local governments under the coordination of language institutions.

(3) More precise provisions for the development, enhancement, and protection referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

Bagian Keempat

Peningkatan Fungsi Bahasa Indonesia Menjadi Bahasa Internasional

Fourth Part

The promotion of the Indonesian language's function as international language

Pasal 44

(1) Pemerintah meningkatkan fungsi Bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa internasional secara bertahap, sistematis, dan berkelanjutan.

(2) Peningkatan fungsi Bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa internasional sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) dikoordinasi oleh lembaga kebahasaan.

(3) Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai peningkatan fungsi Bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa internasional sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) diatur dalam Peraturan Pemerintah.

Article 44

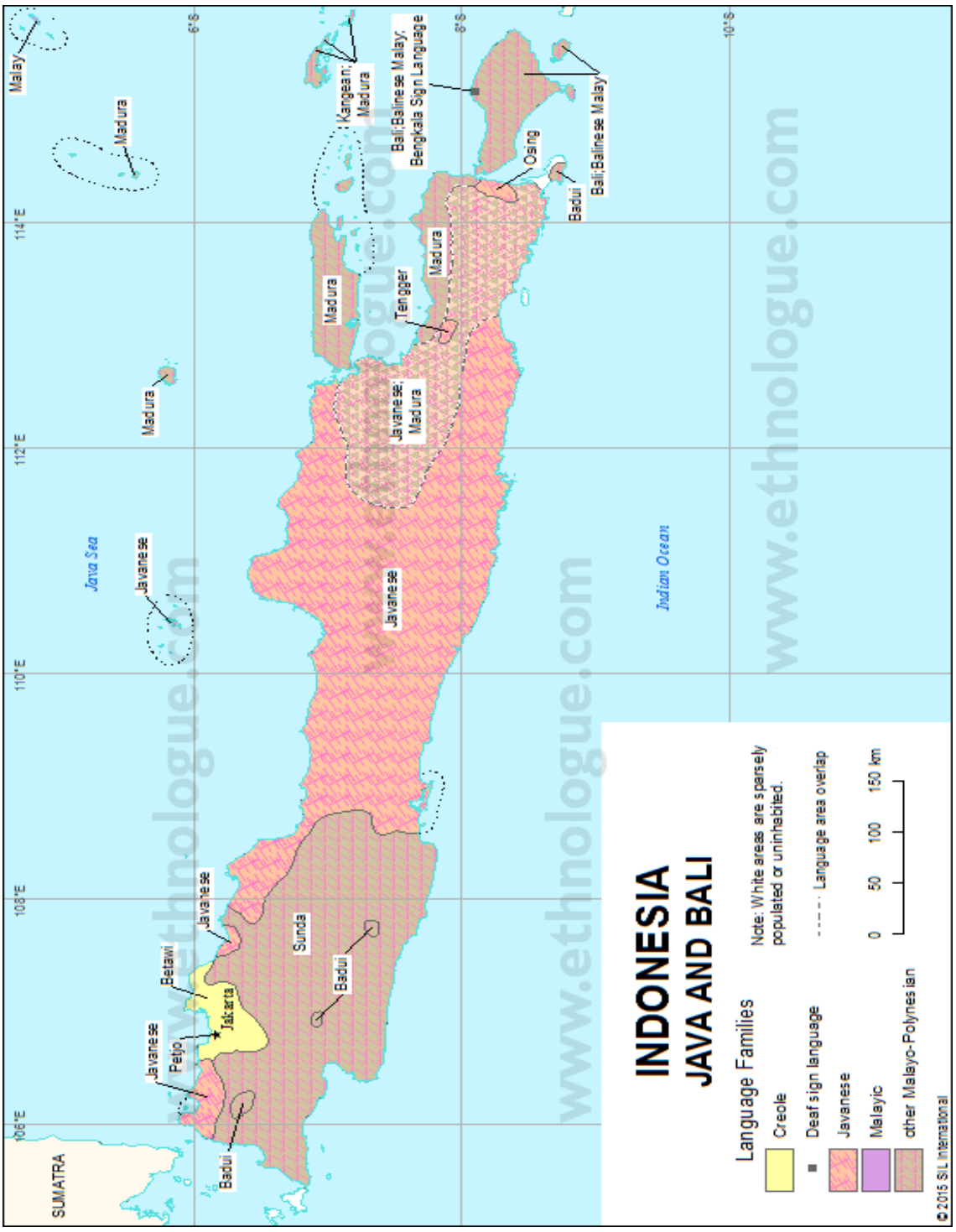
(1) The government shall promote the Indonesian language to become international language in gradual, systematic, and sustainable manners.

(2) The promotion of the Indonesian language's function as international language referred to in paragraph (1) shall be coordinated by the language institutions.

(3) More precise provisions for the facilities to improve competence in foreign languages referred to in paragraph (1) shall be stipulated by Government Regulations.

APPENDIX C

MAP OF LANGUAGES IN JAVA ISLAND



Reprinted from https://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_jb_ on July 2nd, 2015. Reprinted with permission. Copyright 2015 by Ethnologue.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (INDONESIAN VERSION)

Bagian I: Latar Belakang	Bagian II: Pengalaman Hidup Secara Rinci	Bagian III: Refleksi atas Makna dari Pengalaman Hidup
1. Bisakah Anda ceritakan latar belakang hidup Anda?	1. Apakah Anda selalu berterus terang tentang identitas etnis Anda?	1. Apakah makna sebagai orang Jawa bagi Anda?
2. Apakah kedua orang tua Anda orang Jawa? Apabila tidak, yang mana yang orang Jawa?	2. Menurut Anda, apakah hal-hal positif sebagai orang Jawa?	2. Apa peran bahasa Jawa bagi budaya Jawa?
3. Bahasa apa yang Anda bisa pertama kali?	3. Apakah tantangan yang paling sulit bagi Anda sebagai orang Jawa?	3. Menurut Anda apakah bahasa Jawa itu penting? Bagaimanakah kaitan bahasa dengan budaya?
4. Anda bisa bahasa apa saja?	4. Apakah Anda pernah merasa malu dengan asal-usul Anda (sbg orang Jawa)? Kalo pernah, kapan (pada situasi apa) dan mengapa?	4. Apakah makna bahasa Jawa bagi Anda?
5. Bahasa apa yang Anda pakai ketika berkomunikasi dengan anggota keluarga inti? Anggota keluarga besar?	5. Apakah Anda pernah terlibat dalam kelompok ataupun aktivitas yang berhubungan dengan suku Anda? Kalau pernah, bisakah Anda ceritakan kapan dan bagaimana Anda terlibat?	5. Menurut Anda, apakah yang akan terjadi dengan bahasa Jawa di masa datang? Menurut Anda, apakah penting melestarikan bahasa Jawa? Bisakah Anda jelaskan mengapa Anda berpikir demikian? Apakah hal-hal yang perlu dilakukan untuk mempertahankan bahasa Jawa?
6. Bahasa apa yang paling sering digunakan di rumah?	6. Apakah pengalaman Anda dengan bahasa Jawa?	6. Apakah yang harus dilakukan oleh orang Jawa untuk mempertahankan bahasa mereka?
7. Bahasa apa yang paling sering Anda gunakan untuk kegiatan sehari-hari?	7. Apakah perubahan-perubahan dalam penggunaan bahasa yang Anda amati terjadi di komunitas/kota Anda?	7. Apakah ada hal-hal lain yang ingin Anda tambahkan?
8. Bisakah Anda ceritakan pengalaman Anda di sekolah berkaitan dengan pengajaran bahasa? Apakah yang diajarkan sekolah dalam pelajaran bahasa?		
9. Apakah yang Anda pelajari tentang bahasa dan budaya Jawa di sekolah?		

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (ENGLISH VERSION)

Part I: Focused Life History	Part II: Details of Experience	Part III: Reflections on Meaning
1. Can you tell me brief background about yourself? Where were you born and where did you grow up? 2. Are both of your parents Javanese? If not, which one is Javanese? 3. What language did you first learn as a baby? 4. What languages do you speak? 5. Which of those languages do you speak with your family (parents, brothers, and sisters)? 6. Which of those languages do you speak with your immediate family (husband and son)? 7. Which language is spoken most at your household? 8. Which languages do you speak with in the course of your daily work routine? 9. Can you tell me memories of language learning in school? Which languages did the school teach? 10. What had you learned about Javanese culture/language in school?	1. Do you always come out about your ethnic identity? Why/Why not? 2. For you, what are the good things about being Javanese? 3. What is the most difficult challenge for you in being a Javanese? 4. Have you ever felt ashamed of your origin? If you have, when and why? 5. Have you ever been involved in any group or activity that is related to your own ethnicity? If you have, please tell us when and how you got involved? 6. What is your own experience with the Javanese language? 7. What are some changes in language use that you have noticed in the community back in your hometown?	1. What does it mean to be a Javanese for you? 2. What is the importance of Javanese language to Javanese culture? 3. Do you think that Javanese language is important? How is language related to culture? 4. What does it mean to you to know Javanese language? Or what does the Javanese language mean to you? 5. What do you think will happen to Javanese language in the future? Do you think it's important for Javanese language to be maintained? Could you tell me why you feel that way? What does it need to happen for the Javanese language to become maintained? 6. What are some things that the Javanese people could do to maintain their language? 7. What do you expect in your partner in relation to your Javanese identity? 8. Is there anything you want to add?

APPENDIX F

CONSENT FORM (INDONESIAN VERSION)

FORMULIR KESEDIAAN MENJADI RESPONDEN

MENUNTUT (KEMBALI) IDENTITAS SEBAGAI ORANG JAWA: SUARA ANTAR GENERASI DARI PUSAT BUDAYA JAWA

Tanggal

Kepada Yth. _____

Saya adalah mahasiswa pasca sarjana strata 3 (S3) program Linguistik Terapan, jurusan bahasa Inggris, di *Arizona State University* di bawah bimbingan Profesor Teresa McCarty. Saat ini saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk mengetahui makna sebagai orang Jawa dalam hubungannya dengan kemampuan berbahasa Jawa.

Saya mengundang Anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam wawancara, dua sampai empat kali sesi wawancara, untuk penelitian saya seputar latar belakang keluarga Anda, sikap bahasa dan pendapat Anda mengenai bahasa Jawa. Waktu yang diperlukan untuk tiap wawancara adalah antara 1 sampai 2 jam. Saya akan merekam wawancara tersebut. Wawancara tidak akan direkam tanpa ijin dari Anda. Anda mempunyai hak untuk tidak menjawab pertanyaan yang Anda keberatan untuk menjawabnya, dan Anda juga berhak untuk menghentikan wawancara kapan pun sekiranya Anda keberatan untuk meneruskan wawancara tersebut. Mohon Anda memberitahu Saya sebelumnya apabila Anda keberatan wawancara tersebut direkam; Anda juga dipersilakan untuk berubah pikiran saat wawancara sudah dimulai, silakan Anda beritahukan hal-hal tersebut kepada Saya.

Partisipasi Anda dalam penelitian ini bersifat sukarela. Jika Anda memilih untuk tidak berpartisipasi atau mengundurkan diri dari penelitian ini kapan pun, tidak akan ada sanksi apapun bagi Anda dan hal ini juga tidak akan berakibat apapun bagi Anda. Anda harus berusia antara 18 tahun atau lebih untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Walaupun tidak ada manfaat langsung bagi Anda, partisipasi Anda akan bermanfaat bagi perkembangan bahasa daerah dan mendukung situasi keanekaan bahasa yang sehat di Indonesia. Tidak akan ada resiko ataupun ketidaknyamanan yang akan Anda temui karena berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

Untuk menjamin kerahasiaan Anda, Anda akan diberikan nama samaran jika dan ketika Anda bersedia untuk berpartisipasi dalam wawancara ini. Nama samaran ini akan digunakan dalam seluruh proses pengumpulan data. Singkatnya, jawaban-jawaban Anda akan bersifat anonim. Wawancara akan direkam namun semua nama yang terungkap dalam wawancara akan diubah menjadi nama samaran atau deskripsi generik selama proses transkripsi; dan semua informasi yang bisa dilacak identitasnya tidak akan ditranskripsi. Hasil dari penelitian ini akan digunakan dalam laporan, presentasi, ataupun

publikasi namun nama Anda tidak akan dibuka identitasnya.

Semua dokumen, catatan, dan rekaman dalam penelitian ini akan disimpan di lokasi yang aman di kantor Peneliti Utama (gedung Farmer 144E, 146), dan juga akan disimpan di komputer yang aman karena sudah dilindungi dengan kata sandi di mana hanya Peneliti Utama dan Peneliti Pendukung yang memiliki akses pada komputer tersebut. Peneliti Utama dan Peneliti Pendukung akan tetap menjadi pihak utama yang bertanggung jawab terhadap keamanan data dan dokumen penelitian ini. Setelah proyek penelitian ini berakhir, semua data akan diarsip dan disimpan di kantor peneliti utama (gedung Farmer 144E, 146) dan akan dihancurkan tiga tahun setelah proyek penelitian ini selesai.

Apabila Anda mempunyai pertanyaan mengenai penelitian ini, Anda dapat menghubungi Prof. Teresa McCarty (Peneliti Utama) melalui email dengan alamat Teresa.McCarty@asu.edu atau Lusia Nurani (Peneliti Pendukung) melalui email dengan alamat lnurani@asu.edu.

Dengan menandatangani formulir ini, saya menyatakan kesediaan untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

Nama: _____

_____ _____

Tanda Tangan Tanggal

_____ _____

Tanda Tangan Tanggal

Apabila Anda memiliki pertanyaan mengenai hak-hak Anda sebagai responden/subjek dalam penelitian ini atau bila Anda merasa penelitian ini beresiko tinggi bagi Anda, silakan menghubungi Kepala *Human Subjects Institutional Review Board* melalui *ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance* dengan nomor telepon (480) 965- 6788. Mohon Anda dapat memberitahu Saya apabila Anda berminat untuk berpatisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

"Saya menyatakan bahwa Saya telah benar-benar menjelaskan sifat dan tujuan, manfaat dan risiko yang mungkin diperoleh dari berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Saya juga menyatakan telah menjawab semua pertanyaan yang diajukan dan menyaksikan sendiri responden menandatangani formulir persetujuan ini. Elemen-elemen dalam formulir

persetujuan ini sesuai dengan persyaratan yang diajukan Arizona State University dan Office for Human Research Protections untuk melindungi hak-hak responded. Saya juga telah menyediakan dan menawarkan salinan dari formulir persetujuan ini kepada responden."

Tanda Tangan Peneliti _____

Tanggal _____

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH VERSION)

CONSENT FORM

(RE-) CLAIMING THE IDENTITY AS A JAVANESE: INTERGENERATIONAL VOICES FROM THE CENTER OF JAVANESE CULTURE

Date

Dear _____:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Teresa McCarty in the Applied Linguistics Program, English Department at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to examine the meaning of being a Javanese in relation with the ability to speak the Javanese language.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve two to four interviews regarding your family background, your language attitude toward Javanese language, and your opinion about Javanese language and culture. Your time commitment for each interview will approximately be 1 to 2 hours. I would like to audiotape this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. You have the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty and it will not affect you in any way. You must be 18 or older to participate in this study. Although there may be no direct benefit to you, the possible benefit of your participation, the study will definitely benefit the development of indigenous language as well as to support the multilingual environment in Indonesia. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

In order to ensure your confidentiality, you will be assigned a pseudonym if and when you agree to participate in the study. This pseudonym will be used throughout the data collection. In brief, your responses will be confidential. The interviews will be audio-recorded, but any proper nouns shared in the interviews will be changed to a pseudonym or generic description during the transcription; and any identifiable information will not be transcribed. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be known.

All project documents, records, and tapes will be maintained in a secure location in the PI's office (Farmer 144E, 146), and in a separate and secure password-protected computer database to which only the project PI and co-PIs will have access. The PI and

co-PI will remain the primary individuals responsible for ensuring the security of all project data and records. After the project ends, the data will be archived in PI's office (Farmer 144E, 146) and will be destroyed three years after the project ends.

If you have any questions concerning the study or your participation in the study, before or after consent, you can contact me at 480-593-0742 or lnurani@asu.edu. In the event that you have any further questions, please contact Dr. Teresa McCarty by phone at 480-965-7483 or by email at Teresa.Mccarty@asu.edu.

Sincerely,

Lusia Nurani

With my signature, I give consent to participate in the above study.

Name (printed) _____

_____ _____

Signature Date

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, at (480) 965- 4796.

"I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits and possible risks associated with participation in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature. These elements of Informed Consent conform to the Assurance given by Arizona State University to the Office for Human Research Protections to protect the rights of human subjects. I have provide (offered) the participant a copy of this signed consent document."

Signature of Researcher_____

Date_____

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lusia Marliana Nurani earned her PhD in Applied Linguistics from Arizona State University (ASU) in December 2015. Her research interests include language policy and planning, Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization, and minority education. During her doctoral studies at ASU, she was primarily funded by Fulbright through Fulbright Presidential Scholarship Program.